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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Troy: a Study in Homeric Geography. By WALTER LEAF, Litt.D., Hon.D.Litt. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1912. Pp. xvi, 406.)

A splendid book, splendidly written, printed, illustrated, and provided with maps. It speaks to us of Homeric scenery on the basis of a personal study of the Trojan ruins and the geography of the Troad, and is filled with the peculiar charm which comes only from such immediate contact with essential, out-of-door facts. Its message is the reality, not of Homer—for Mr. Leaf still has his opinion of the peaceful, restful attitude of mind, the simple faith, which "qualifies a man to swallow translations of the Phaistos disk and the authenticity of Dictys of Crete"—but of the Trojan tale; for the purpose of the book is to show that the development of the tale of Troy must have been conditioned from the beginning

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complete—of "anatopisms" in the *Iliad*, in spite of its composite authorship. This points to a chronicle in verse contemporary with the war. The reality of the scenery suggests the reality of the action, and geographical conditions explain why the war was fought. A garrison at Hissarlik had, under the circumstances of early navigation, the power of closing the Hellespont and could thus force the trade of Greece and the Euxine to meet under its walls, and could fatten off their taxation, and the taxation of other trades which would be drawn to this mart. The catalogue of the Trojans shows, by its arrangement of the allies along four ancient trade-routes, a grasp of this situation which is a guarantee of its age and reliability: we have in it very old material, which has been only slightly reworked. For the Greeks the opening of the Hellespont—necessary to their eastern expansion—was the main motive for the war, though this does not exclude the probability that a point of honor was seized as the ostensible pretext. The picture of the conduct of the war—neither assault nor siege, but an effort to wear the enemy down by the stoppage of his revenue and the expense of the war—is in harmony with these conditions. Into this scheme enters properly the Great Foray of Achilles along the southern Troad, to which there are repeated allusions in the *Iliad*, and which was doubt-

to which there are no representations. Wherever we can test less the subject of a separate episode or poem. Wherever we can test the story by confronting it with fixed conditions, we find indications that its basis is a tradition of fact, not a fiction.

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T R O Y

A STUDY IN HOMERIC GEOGRAPHY

BY

WALTER LEAF

LITT.D., HON. D.LITT. (OXON.)

SOMETIME FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

WITH MAPS, PLANS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
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TO

MY WIFE

TWICE MY COMPANION AT TROY

Πέργαμον εἰσπαθὺς διὰ σοί, φίλη, οὐκ ἐπέεσσι
οὐδ' Ἑλλάης μορφῆν, οὐ φρένας Ἀνδρομάχης.

Carad. l.
Vignaud
12-14-26

PREFACE

THE following essay, which aims at testing the tradition of the Trojan War by comparing the text of Homer with the natural conditions described, or more often implicitly assumed, in the *Iliad*, falls naturally into two parts. So far as it deals with the site of Troy and the features of the Trojan Plain, it forms but one more item in a mass of literature of which the bibliography alone would require many pages such as this. The first four chapters can do little more than select or criticise, with such advantage as comes from a study of the country itself. The need of acknowledgment to predecessors would be almost lost in their number, were it not for the two names which stand out pre-eminently—those of Schliemann and Dörpfeld. To the latter I owe a double debt—privately, for his generosity in reading the proof-sheets, and criticising or correcting all that concerns that portion where he stands alone as discoverer and interpreter; publicly, for the inestimable services which he has rendered, and happily is still rendering, to the scientific study of every period of ancient Greece, historic and prehistoric alike. All this first part of the book I am content should be

taken as a tribute to his work and genius, of which I am a whole-hearted admirer.

With the last four chapters the case is different. Here the ground is, so far as I know, practically unbroken. I have acknowledged elsewhere the valuable suggestions of M. Victor Bérard and Sir W. M. Ramsay; but the main conceptions on which my work is based, and the lines on which it is worked out, are, I believe, entirely new. It is by these that the book must be judged. Overtaxed reviewers, indeed, need hardly consider themselves bound to begin before page 310 or thereabouts, but should kindly read as far as page 330; in this compass they will find the conclusions with which I am mainly concerned.

Mr. T. W. Allen, starting from different assumptions, has treated the Catalogue of the Greeks somewhat as I have dealt with that of the Trojans. The independence of our work will be obvious at first sight; he will doubtless disagree with much that I have said as I disagree with much of his. It is the more satisfactory that our results, attained by such different paths, should offer mutual confirmation.

Mr. Andrew Lang has most kindly helped by reading the proof-sheets and offering many criticisms. He will naturally disavow any responsibility for my opinions; our differences in Homeric matters are still, I fear, as obstinate as they are friendly.

Another friend, Mr. J. Thacher Clarke, has given help and encouragement in the earlier stages of the book; the *Report on the Investigations at Assos*

(Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, Classical Series; I. Boston, 1882; II. New York, 1898), of which he is the principal author, proved the most trustworthy guide to the Troad of all that I could find when I was preparing for my journey, and his name will often be found in the sequel.

Any other debts which I owe to predecessors will, I believe, be found acknowledged in their places.

11th July 1912.

THIS Preface, hardly passed for press, already stands in need of a sad Postscript. When Andrew Lang returned me the proof of it, there stood, scribbled beside the allusion to our differences, "Why, you are *plus royaliste que le roi*." Ten days later his acute and versatile spirit, in the maturity of its power and with energy unabated, passed from us. It is not without gratitude that I think of this seal to a friendship of over thirty years. Begun with collaboration in Homer, it has ended with the sense that, beneath all our differences, there has at least been common ground, and with the hope that the following pages may contribute something to that ultimate, if far distant, agreement for which we have both, in our several ways, striven to work.

WALTER LEAF.

27th July 1912.

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Note on Map 4.—The old survey of the Plain of Troy, by Lieut. (afterwards Admiral) Spratt, is given here, both on account of its historical interest, as the source of all subsequent maps, and as still the best representation of the natural features of the country. Unfortunately the photographic reproduction on a smaller scale blurs the fine engraving of the original. It will be seen that the lettering shows the Bunarbashi (Bally Dagh) theory of Lechevalier in its vogue. Not only is the site of Troy marked on the Bally Dagh, with "Ilium Novum" at Hissarlik, but the Mendere appears as the "Ancient Simois," and the little Bunarbashi River as the "Ancient Scamander."

Instead of Hissarlik the name is written Hissarjik. Both are derived from Hissar, "Castle." Hissarjik is a diminutive "Castlet"; while the termination *-jik* is very similar to our *-ry*, forming abstracts with a

strong tendency to become concrete. Hissarlik might, on the analogy of *hostel-hostelry*, be translated *Castlery*, i.e. a castle with its appurtenances. On the general map of the Troad will be found the towns of Aivajik and Aivalik, both formed in the same way from *Aiva*, quince.

Note on Map 6.—This map was drawn to accompany a paper, "Notes on the Troad," which appeared in the *Geographical Journal* for July 1912. It is founded upon Philippeon's *Topographische Karte des westlichen Kleinasien* (1:300,000), which for the greater part of this district is a reproduction of Kiepert's *Karte von Kleinasien* (1:400,000), fresh material being added only in the south-eastern part—roughly speaking east of a line from Ak Chai, near Edremid, to the mouth of the Aesepus. Various alterations have been made by myself in other parts of the country; these refer partly to ancient sites, partly to natural features. Some of them are discussed in the paper in question; some are reserved for defence elsewhere. Save for the coast-line and the Plain of Troy, where the Admiralty charts cannot be bettered, the Troad is still very imperfectly mapped, some districts being still left to mere conjecture; my own corrections are no more than approximations, and are not founded on any survey.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

“Flieh’! Auf! Hinaus ins weite Land!”—GOETHE.

THE most serviceable introduction to the following pages will be found in a brief account of the manner in which they came to be written. Convention requires a preliminary apology for the personal tone of this introductory sketch; but I honestly think that this will be no drawback. For one of my chief aims is to illustrate the significance of impressions gained by personal contact with the scenes of history.

Controversy on the Homeric question has been at least as active during the last ten years as at any time since the publication of Wolf's *Prolegomena*, and at least as ineffective in producing any general agreement. A leading part has been taken by English and American scholars. In their capable hands the problem is gradually working itself out, so far as it can be worked out by the student: though the end is not yet. For my own part I have said my say, and have felt no temptation to take part in the battle, so long as I could do little more than repeat

arguments which, while they appear conclusive to me, are regarded by my opponents as no more than evidence of my natural incapacity for poetical appreciation. In fact, my chief wish has been to get out of the grooves which always tend to imprison the two parties to a long and probably indeterminate controversy, and approach the whole matter, if possible, from a fresh point of attack.

It is not, then, that I hold the controversy, as it is at present proceeding, to be useless or ineffective. Both Mr. Lang and Prof. Murray have to some extent modified my own attitude, though not in any way which is worth a public statement. I have no desire to withdraw, so far as the main position is concerned, anything that I have said; though the following pages will, I hope, show that I am not obstinately set against material alterations in detail. Indeed, it has been my endeavour in all that follows to adopt, so far as I could, my opponents' attitude, and to speak of the *Iliad* as if it were in truth a unity, and to deal as little as possible with any of the problems of the Higher Criticism. This attitude of mind is at all events a pleasant and restful one: I would gladly have maintained a simple faith, had I been able—such a faith as qualifies a man to swallow translations of the Phaistos disk, and the authenticity of Dictys of Crete. But with the best will I have found myself more than once in awkward collision with the statements of the *Iliad* itself, and have been able to evade the obstacle only by an assumption of internal incon-

sistencies which, for my own peace of mind, I would gladly not have seen.

It was under a certain sense of weariness with my own work that, a few months after the publication of the second edition of the *Iliad*, I paid in April 1903 my first visit to the site of Troy. It lasted only a few hours, and was largely occupied with the recognition, not always easy, of the remains which I had learnt to know in books, especially in Dörpfeld's work, then quite new. But I returned to the ship with a new problem in my mind. The landscape had forced upon me a question which I had not before seen raised. Why had that insignificant hillock been twice, before the beginnings of literary history, the seat of a wealthy and cultivated people? And why, through all after ages, had it either lain neglected or been inhabited only for honorary reasons? To this question I could at that time give no answer, beyond a suggestion that the early importance of the place must have been connected with early trade routes afterwards abandoned.

Not long after my return I came across M. Victor Bérard's remarkable work, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odysée*. It is necessary that I should guard myself against any suspicion of agreement with his main position. His obstinate refusal to see any but Phenicians in the Mediterranean, his wilful blindness to all that has been learnt about the early civilisation of the Aegæan area, deprive of any real value precisely the results of which he is most proud; and even in minor points,

wherever I have been able to test his theories on the spot, I have learnt only to refuse his conclusions and mistrust his judgment.

None the less I look upon this book as one of the most suggestive and fruitful I have ever read. M. Bérard's pictures of the conditions of traffic in the Mediterranean, his constant recourse to modern Sailing Directions, his acute analysis of the geographical and economical conditions which led to the rise and fall of ports and cities—in short, his persistent confrontation of the Homeric text with modern physical facts—all this seemed to me little short of a new calculus, exactly what I needed to solve the problem which had never ceased to occupy my mind.

M. Bérard's explanation of the site of Troy, indeed, appeared wholly unsatisfactory and, as in so many other cases, in disagreement with the logical results of his own method. But here again I found help, still indirectly due to him, in a notice of his book by Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Classical Review* (vol. xviii. p. 165). This remarkable article seemed to display that large grasp of the general prehistoric problem which was so lamentably lacking in M. Bérard: and the fact that it anticipated many conclusions which I had myself reached, in particular as to the real significance of the Trojan War, only encouraged me to persevere, feeling that I was on the right lines. And I especially took to heart Sir William's urgent insistence on the results which might be attained

through a closer acquaintance with the Troad as a whole. To him and to M. Bérard my fullest acknowledgments are due.

Thus it was that my views on the main problem gradually cleared up, and crystallised round the Catalogue of the Trojans, which appeared to be arranged in such a manner as to proclaim itself an authentic record of the various routes by which trade must have come to Troy, so long as Troy could block the Hellespont. When I visited Hissarlik for the second time in April 1910, the general theory had taken shape enough to be stated briefly to my fellow-passengers on the *Dunottar Castle*; and in the autumn of that year the bulk of Chapter VI. was written out, nearly as it now stands.

But Sir W. Ramsay's advice was still in my mind, and I felt that I needed to know better not merely Troy, where I had spent in two visits only some eight hours, but all the surrounding landscape of the Troad. My second visit had taught me no more of this than the first, and the study of travellers' accounts left much in dark. It was fortunate, therefore, that I was able to arrange a tour in April and May 1911, in company with Mr. F. W. Hasluck, now Acting Director of the British School at Athens. Starting from Chanak Kalessi (Dardanelles), we rode by Hissarlik past the Bally Dagh to Ezine, and on to the site of Alexandria Troas; thence along the western coast, or quite near it, to the Sminthium by Kulakli, and Cape Lekton. Turning east, we visited

Sivriji Bay and the ruins of Assos, taking boat for Papasli and an araba to Edremid, whence we examined the scanty remains of the ancient Adramyttium at Kara Tash, a few miles away. Riding over the eastern shoulder of Ida, and mounting to the top, we went on to camp in the upper Scamander valley for several nights, and followed the course of the river downwards to Thymbra and Dardanelles. Starting thence in arabas we made acquaintance with the northern district, Arisbe, Lampsakos, Parion, Priapus, and the Granicus valley, by which we again passed to that of the Scamander at Bairamich, and so back by our previous route to Dardanelles. We may thus claim, I believe, to have seen every site in the Troad named by Homer, with the single exception of Zeleia, which was already known to my companion, and the upper valley of the Aesepus, into which we only looked from the hills which close it towards the west.

The result of this journey, which Mr. Hasluck's companionship and experience made both delightful and easy, was to correct a few misapprehensions on minor points, but to confirm the view that the Troad, so far as it is described in the *Iliad*, is described from true historical knowledge, and that so much of the Trojan Catalogue as deals with the kingdom of Priam may be taken as an authentic historical document: a conclusion which I do not hesitate to extend to the larger part which tells of the Trojan allies. It grew especially clear that the long strip of the southern

Troad, from the Satniois valley to the plain of Adramyttium, so closely connected with the Troad proper, and yet with so distinctive a physiognomy, could not have been merely omitted, as some have supposed, in a Catalogue treating of the Troad; and the belief that it was summarised by Homer under the "tribes of the Pelasgians" grew into a conviction. In many other respects the journey was fruitful; but these must be reserved for a discussion not of Homer's, but of Strabo's, description of the Troad.

But it is, after all, round Troy itself that the questions hang by which the historical reality of the *Iliad* has to be tested. The actual site of Troy and the whole of its immediate surroundings have been discussed now for a hundred years, with enthusiasm up to and beyond the bounds of acrimony, and minuteness which, based as it is in many cases on intimate familiarity with the country, leaves nothing to be desired. Here there is little left for a new-comer to contribute in the way of material. He can hardly expect to do more than select and criticise. Yet an account of the long history of the various settlements on the hill of Hissarlik was indispensable for my purpose. It would have been satisfactory if I could conveniently have referred my readers to a handy account of the nine "cities," and their various "periods"; but none exists, so far as I am aware, at least in English. The great work of Dörpfeld and his collaborators, *Troja und Ilion*, remains the one authoritative statement of the facts; it is bulky and

expensive, and, alas, sadly marred by the complete absence of any index. So I have had no choice but to draw up for my own purposes a brief abstract of so much of that monumental work as seemed necessary for an outline of the history of the place. This will, it may be hoped, suffice for all those, other than specialists, who are interested in Troy, whether as scholars or historians. My précis—it is little more—has had the inestimable benefit of Dr. Dörpfeld's revision in proof, and may therefore be trusted to be at least accurate.

In Chapter III., dealing with the actual ruins, I have of course followed Dörpfeld implicitly. In the interpretation of results with relation to the *Iliad* I have often had to differ from him, sometimes in matters of importance. Full though the *Iliad* is of local colour, this appears, with very little exception, by way of allusion, and not of description. Large assumptions are made: the reader is supposed to know the general scenery, and understand without more ado where was the ford, the oak, or the Skaian Gate. Room is therefore left for large differences of opinion; and it is not surprising that problems should arise which hardly admit of a definite solution.

But difficulties such as these do not affect the main result that the landscape of the *Iliad* is really the landscape of Hissarlik, and that the descriptions of Homer are drawn from the knowledge of eye-witnesses. That the poet who wrote any particular passage had been himself a visitor to the scene of his poem is

indeed a matter not easy to establish. The principal features of the Trojan plain must have been embodied in poems much earlier than the *Iliad* as we have it; and it is hard to place a limit to the power of national tradition in conserving details which might at first seem entirely subordinate and unessential. If the tradition is based on the story of a real war, it may from the first have told how the heights of Ida and Samothrace looked down on the battle-field, what rivers ran through it, and how near together lay the fortress and the sea. Nor must we forget that, when once the Greeks had peopled the Asian coast, Troy was no distant and inaccessible spot. The temple of Athene which stood over it was in all probability an object of patriotic pilgrimage from early days; and it stood on one of the greatest highways of human traffic. Hundreds of men who listened to the rhapsodists in the market-places of Phocaea, Ephesus, and Miletus must at one time or another have been wind-bound at the mouth of the Hellespont, and known the Scamander and the famous hill as well as they knew the deltas of the Hermus, the Cayster, and the Maeander. With such an audience, flagrant misdescription would be fatal to poetic effect, when the poet was professing to describe real events taking place on familiar ground.

But in the case of other graphic touches, which can certainly have formed no essential part of the legend, the case is different. Among these I should certainly class the incidental allusions to the Trojan

flora. When Hephaistos stays with his flames the career of the river-god Skamandros, "elms burnt and willow-trees and tamarisks, and lotus burnt and rush and galingale, which round the fair streams of the river grew in multitude" (*Il.* xxi. 350-52). To-day the river-channel through the plain is marked by the line of low willows and elm-bushes—the elms are allowed to grow to trees only in the side valley of the Thymbrius—and the tamarisks spread from the banks in thick copses, making with their young shoots at the end of April conspicuous patches of dull crimson. Rush, galingale, and lotos, whatever they were, may perhaps be taken as common to any river-side; but it is impossible not to feel that a poet's eye has seized the very marks which best single out the banks of Scamander from the surrounding plain.

But if this is the case with the plain, still more is it true of the mountain. It is not to be supposed that the legend of Troy said anything of the flowers that grew on the top of Ida; nor is there any obvious reason why an ordinary traveller should ascend it on the way to anywhere. That Zeus should go there is natural enough: it is the only mountain-top near Troy, and commands a distant but clear view of the battle-plain, doubtless within range of immortal eyes. As he sat there, Hera came to lure his thoughts away from the battle; and Gargara put forth for the pair a nuptial couch of flowers, "fresh new grass, and dewy lotus, and crocus, and hyacinth thick and soft" (*Il.* xiv. 347-9).

The summit of Ida is a shapeless plateau, strewn with stones, and in itself most unlovely. But as the pasture of the plains below begins to die out in the heat of early summer, the fresh grass grows on the heights, and offers food to countless flocks and herds. And all round the fields of melting snow there springs up in May a glory of colour which those who have seen it are not likely to forget—crocus and hyacinth carpeting the slopes with brilliant orange and blue, mingled in thick beds worthy for the couch of gods.¹

True, this does not actually prove that the poet who wrote the lines in *Il.* xiv. had actually been to the top of Gargarus. Tennyson writes of the coming of the goddesses to Ida, when “the crocus brake like fire.” His description too is faithful to nature, though he had never been there. As he copied from a predecessor, so may Homer have done. But at some time a Greek poet saw the crocus and hyacinth on Ida with his own eyes, and put them into verse—of that there can be no doubt. He had gone there perhaps to attend the religious festival of which the altar found near the summit bears witness. Ida was a holy mountain then as it still is to the nomad Mahomedans,

¹ The crocus is *C. gargaricus*, a species first found here and named from the place. The “hyacinth” is a squill, *Scilla bifolia*. Col. Prain, the Director of Kew Gardens, writes of the flower I sent him, “The squill is no doubt *Scilla bifolia* in the wide sense, and we should have put it down without hesitation as the form treated by Boissier as a distinct species, *S. nivalis*, which Mr. Baker treats as only a marked variety of *S. bifolia* (*S. bifolia*, var. *nivalis*, Baker), if it was not that, as a rule, *nivalis* has only a few flowers.” We did not see the crocus anywhere else in the Troad, but of course it may have been over on the lower slopes. It is found also on the Mysian Olympus.

who still celebrate there a yearly festival on the Christian date of August 15.

But, hard though it may be to prove positive personal knowledge at any one point in a long train of tradition, the converse problem is generally easy enough. We seldom have difficulty, in any work, whether in verse or prose, where local colour plays a part, in showing that the author did not know his scenery, if such be indeed the case. When Shakespeare and Campbell write of Elsinore, the one speaks of the

dreadful summit of the cliff
That beetles o'er his base into the sea :

the other of "the wild and stormy steep." We do not hesitate to conclude that neither of them ever set eyes on the level sandspit on which the historical castle stands. Even Tennyson betrays himself in the very passage which has just been quoted. For the crocus is joined with "the wandering ivy and vine" which "ran riot, garlanding the gnarled boughs." Yet no vine can ever have lived within several hours' journey of the bleak snow-fields around which the crocus breaks into fire.

The point is small enough, and in itself not worthy of censure, or even notice. But it is very remarkable that, so far as I can judge, no case of such a local inconsistency, not a single anatopism, as De Quincey would say, can be brought home to the *Iliad*. Difficulties there are in the Homeric topography, and questions which are beyond our power of solution ;

but none of them brings any ignorance of the country to light. The two "springs of Scamander" under the walls of Troy may indeed imply something of the sort; but that stumbling-block must be discussed later. Locality plays so large a part in the *Iliad*, the whole scene is so constantly taken for granted as a thing known, that this negative consideration seems to me of the greatest weight, and to attest not so much the autopsy of a particular poet as the reality of the material on which he is working.

Partly on these grounds, but still more on others which will appear in the sequel, I can feel no doubt that the *Iliad* is based on a very solid foundation of historical fact. The Trojan Catalogue, in particular, seems to represent accurately a state of things which must have existed at the time of the Trojan War, and could not have existed after it, nor for long before. It must in fact be essentially a contemporaneous document. It would seem to follow that there existed from the first some sort of a metrical narrative of the war, of which the Trojan Catalogue at least has survived in something very like its original form, while the substance of the rest has been gradually transformed, by the natural growth of centuries, from a narrative into a poem, each generation taking up the tradition, and gradually moulding it by expansion and omission, to be handed on to the next for fresh development, till it reached its final form in the *Iliad* as we now have it.¹

¹ To guard against misapprehension, I would say that a prose chronicle

This view only very indirectly affects the questions dealt with by what is called the Higher Criticism. It has long been generally accepted—indeed it is almost self-evident—that the *Iliad* is the outcome of a large mass of earlier poetry, dealing with the same story, and assumed to be universally familiar. No place is left indeed for certain theories touching the nature of this earlier Epic development; the view, for instance, that it began with detached lays; for, if I am right, the Tale of Troy was a corpus from the first. Still more must we exclude the hypothesis which has had some vogue, that the Tale of Troy began in earlier intertribal struggles, fought out in Greece itself, and transferred to Asia Minor only with the current of the earlier colonisation. It is true that the tomb of Hector was honoured in Boeotia; but it does not follow that Hector was originally a Boeotian. It is at least equally reasonable to believe the legend, that he was a valiant Trojan, who inspired such respect in his enemies that they endeavoured to appropriate him, and to keep him on their side, by bringing his bones to Greece and paying him honour in their own land.¹

cannot be said to be *a priori* impossible—we have one instance at all events of an epic, the *Shahnama*, composed from such material—but for Mycenaean times it seems to me so improbable as to be entirely out of the range of serious discussion. What I have in my mind is a narrative poem, designed for oral transmission; and I suppose it to have given a history of the whole war, or at least of all the parts of it which were best suited for such treatment. The two points which seem to me likely are—(1) that it was, if not continuous, at least comprehensive; (2) that it was contemporaneous.

¹ This is well put by Mr. Lang, *The World of Homer*, pp. 183-7, to which the reader may refer for a fuller discussion, with which I find myself in entire sympathy.

But this is a question of ultimate origins only ; it affects the question of the actual composition of the *Iliad* only in a very remote degree. Ten years ago I wrote that the evidence pointed to the probability that the Trojan Catalogue consisted of "older material worked up and partly adapted to this place." I should say the same still, though I should be inclined to lay rather more emphasis on the oldness of the material, and perhaps less on the working up. And, generally speaking, it may be said that the recognition of the story of a real war, handed down in a full, if not continuous, poetical narrative, leaves less room for the invention of incidents and the introduction of outside material by subsequent poets than I was at one time inclined to believe. It leads rather to the conception of independent working out of material, all approximately of the same age ; of different concurrent developments, all reacting upon another in the progress of their growth ; but it gives no help in simplifying the problem of their ultimate combination. For instance, I should now be more inclined to think that all that part of the *Iliad* which deals with the wall round the camp may have been due to a wall in the original narrative. But this gives us no help towards explaining the difficulties which the wall brings into the story—the strangely forced manner in which it is introduced, the inconsistency with which, at one moment the central feature of the fighting, it is suddenly ignored, and must indeed be absent if the story is to be intelligible.

And so in all other points the primary question of the inconsistencies and junctures in the text remains just where it was. In any case large room must be left for the imagination of the poet; the *Iliad* is a great deal more than the versification of an old chronicle. But in what follows it will be possible to leave such problems out of sight, except in the few cases where they directly affect the actual topography.

Finally, one fundamental assumption must here be clearly stated. It is that both Achaians and Trojans in the twelfth century B.C. were in the Mycenaean stage of culture,¹ and that the Mycenaean remains both at Mycenae and at Troy were theirs at the time of the Trojan War. This is not the place for any detailed argument on behalf of this thesis. It must suffice to state it here as forming the basis of all that follows. It is a view which I have always held: it seems to me to have been convincingly established by the whole course of recent discovery, and the wonderful revelations of Crete have done much to explain what was difficult in it. The following propositions will sufficiently set out the conclusions which to me appear most probable, and which I have taken as a working hypothesis.²

At some time probably near the beginning of the second millennium B.C. there came a great descent of

¹ I am glad to welcome a somewhat tardy convert to this view in Mr. T. W. Allen: see *Classical Review* for Dec. 1911.

² An excellent summary of the position, for those who do not wish to study the subject as specialists, will be found in Mr. Hogarth's article on "Aegean Civilisation" in the new edition of the *Ency. Brit.*

peoples from the north. The invaders, who were presumably of Indo-European race and language, and closely related to one another, divided in the Balkan peninsula; one stream passed eastwards across the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, and settled in the western portion of Asia Minor; another continued directly southwards, and, after a prolonged pause on the northern slopes of Olympus, went on through Thessaly into Greece, which they gradually overspread. Their progress was apparently rather a peaceful permeation than a warlike invasion; for they found a remarkable civilisation already in possession. This they did not destroy: they adopted it, and to some extent modified it; but it seems to have been already decadent, and their coming probably hastened its decay.

It is convenient to use the term Aegean as the general name of this civilisation, which has been traced throughout the Greek islands, and on both sides of the Aegean Sea, to east and west; whether it reached the northern shore is not yet known. As it existed in Crete, where it seems to have attained its most continuous development and highest bloom, it is called Minoan. The latest stage, as modified by the northern immigrants in Greece proper, is called Mycenaean, from the place where we know it best. The lords of Mycenae, and those inhabitants of Greece who were contemporaneous with them, are the Achaians of whom Homer tells.

The chief objection to this hypothesis has been

founded on burial customs. The Homeric Achaians always burn their dead; the Mycenaeans always buried them. The two practices involve different views of the destiny of the departed spirit, and, so long as the facts were undisputed, the difficulty was a real one. It was, indeed, an enigma on both sides. Those who maintained that the Achaians were not Mycenaeans, but invaders who entered Greece after the disappearance of the Mycenaean culture and before the advent of the Dorians, were unable to explain how it was that this apparently dominant race, covering the whole of Greece, had disappeared without leaving a single material trace of their existence. The archaeological record appeared to be continuous, and it left no room whatever for any such Achaians.

But it is always dangerous to dogmatise till the facts are known. Prehistoric exploration in Greece is every year bringing fresh surprises, and it is never safe to go beyond the limits of a working hypothesis, subject to modification. There were traces, even in Crete, of burial and cremation side by side at Muliana: it is reported, though there appears to be no scientific publication of the fact, that Mycenaean graves with cremation have been discovered at Salamis and Argos. The last few months, however, have brought decisive evidence. In the island of Leucas, which, I may say in passing, he has in my opinion now convincingly proved to be the Homeric Ithaca, the unwearied explorer Dörpfeld has

actually discovered a Homeric cemetery. Several graves contain the ashes of a pyre; beside these are buried the remains of the bones either in an urn or a cist, and both pyre and graves have been then surrounded with a circular wall, the foundation of a tumulus. The whole process illustrates exactly the Homeric description of the funeral of Patroklos in *Il.* xxiii. 71-256. In one point only is there a difference easily to be understood. Patroklos dies in a foreign land; his bones, therefore, are not laid under the tumulus, but are taken to Achilles' tent, to await their return to Phthia. Even the quenching of the pyre with wine seems to have had its counterpart in Leukas; for the wood is only partially reduced to ashes, and seems to have been quenched before combustion was complete.

The tombs had been frequently plundered, and little was found beyond the mere foundations to illustrate the culture of the period to which they belong. Fortunately, however, in one grave three daggers had escaped the notice of treasure-seekers, and a sword with a golden hilt and other fragments of metal in the tumulus suffice to prove that the metal in use was bronze and not iron. The pottery "is very characteristic: it is identical with that in the third stratum in Teskla and Dimini, and with some vases in the shaft-graves of Mycenae."¹

¹ Dörpfeld, *Sechster Brief über Leukas-Ithaka: die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen von 1910*, dated Oct. 1911. See also "Zu den altgriechischen Bestattungssitten" in *Neue Jahrb.*, 1912, pp. 1-26.

It is not, however, the place here to enter into a discussion of this thorny question. It will be enough to place on record this discovery of a clear case of hybridisation in culture, the ultimate significance of which may be far-reaching. In the case of funeral rites I have elsewhere¹ pointed out the signs in Homer of a struggle between the two conceptions of the Underworld, and the tombs of Leukas show us the contest in material form.

The Trojan branch of the immigration had met the Minoan influence at a greater distance, and seems to have been less influenced by it. But the remains of the Mycenaean settlement at Troy, other than the buildings, are, as we shall see, insignificant, and on many vital points we are in the dark. In particular, no graves have been discovered, and we do not even know if the Trojan Mycenaean buried or burnt their dead.² But the pottery shows clearly that an old local fabric held its own against the external influence. There is at Troy Mycenaean pottery which is clearly imported from abroad: there is local imitation of the

¹ *Iliad*, vol. ii., Appendix L.

² The interesting tumulus at Hanai Tepe, close to Mr. Calvert's farm at the mouth of the Thymbra valley, may be taken as evidence of complete cremation, if the layer of ashes there found is funerary, as seems most likely. There the common pyre, if such it be, is surrounded by a low retaining wall, and we cannot but be reminded of the common tomb of *Il.* vii. 435,

τύμβον δ' ἄμφ' αὐτὴν ἕνα ποίκλον ἐκαταρόντες
ἔκρητον ἐκ πεδίου, ποτὶ δ' αὐτὸν τεύχος ἔθεσαν.

But I do not adduce this as evidence, partly because the facts do not seem well established, and partly because its distance from Hissarlik, some two hours' ride, precludes any direct connexion with Troy. Nothing Mycenaean was found there, and the pottery is different from that found at Hissarlik. The tumulus is described in Schliemann's *Ilios*, App. iv. p. 705 ff.

Mycenaean style; but the old monochrome ware is never expelled.

In one important point the Mycenaeans of Troy agree with those of the mainland: their buildings are all of the "megaron" type, separate houses consisting each of a great hall with central hearth, and at most one or two chambers leading out of it. The Cretan palaces are "labyrinthine," vast complexes of chambers and passages all under a common roof. The megaron type is shown by the palace of the "Second City" of Troy to have been indigenous in the northern regions, and never to have been supplanted by Minoan builders.

Two points must be borne in mind in comparing Homer's descriptions with the Mycenaean remains. The first is that Mycenaean art, though adopted by the Achaians, probably remained a foreign art, executed by Minoan workmen, or at least following closely Minoan types, which at this late date, as Minoan dates go, had already reached the stage of stereotyped convention. This seems clearly to be the case with regard to men's dress. The typical Minoan dress is the "bathing-drawers" costume. It is not to be supposed that this was ever really worn in Greece: it belongs to a much warmer climate. It is probably a conventional survival at Mycenae, like the toga which, to judge from the art of the period, we might suppose to have been the habitual garb of British statesmen in the eighteenth century.

And secondly, Homer as we know him is not a contemporaneous poet. In the days when the *Iliad* attained its present form the Mycenaean civilisation was long dead and buried: another race had been, and other palms were won. Another great wave of invaders had swept not only over Greece, but over Troy. As in the west Dorians had broken up the old Achaian states, so in the east another Thracian wave had brought in Bithynians to scatter the Phrygians, and at Troy itself we shall find evidence still later of a people from the Danube valley who had made a temporary home on the hill of Hissarlik. The old boundaries had been swept away, iron had taken the place of bronze, the court of Mycenae had been driven from its palace, and nobles and commons had been confused in the search for a new home across the seas. The Greek world had become new. It was inevitable that the poets of the new era should have mingled much that was new with the more ancient matter of the poems on which they worked. In short—I adopt Mr. Allen's word—"Homer anachronises," probably to a much greater extent than Mr. Allen would be prepared to admit.

But, fortunately, Homer's anachronisms need not, for the purpose of this book, greatly concern us. Men and their belongings, their clothes and arms, their civic constitution, their whole outlook on this world and the next, had changed; but the face of nature remained the same. It is with this that we

are now concerned—the relations of men to sea, hills, plains and rivers. The main object of all that follows is to show that if Homer anachronises, he does not anapopise, and that where he is dealing with fixed conditions he can still be tested and found to give a true report.

CHAPTER II

THE LANDSCAPE OF TROY

The ghost of Homer clings
Round Scamander's wasting springs.

—SHELLEY.

THE Plain of Troy is certainly not picturesque. It contains no natural features to attract the lover of scenery, or stir the imagination of the poet. If no human drama were ever acted there, it is hard to see why any bard should have made it the stage for a story pieced together out of legend, or transferred to it the tale of battles fought among the steep and rugged hills and fertile plains of Greece itself. A little farther south, among the bays and promontories of Adramyttium, Smyrna, Ephesus, and Miletus, the unrecorded struggle of Greek colonisation was played out; and there, on every hand, were striking scenes of sea and mountain, the great towns and fat meadows where early Greece grew to wealth and power. What was there, save actual history, to locate at the mouth of the Hellespont the story which, of all that have ever been set down, has most affected the imagination of succeeding generations?

The traveller, anchored in the strait off the mouth of the Scamander, will indeed, if the weather is fine, be struck by two mountains at the extreme limits of the view. To the north-west is the bold mass of Samothrace, to the south-east the long line of Ida. The height of Samothrace is thrown into relief by the low hills of the nearer Imbros, over which it towers; the height of Ida by the snow which streaks the upper slopes into May, and even June. But neither possesses such distinction of outline as Taygetus or Sipylus: in actual mass they are not comparable to Olympus or Parnassus. Between these extreme points the landscape shows no single conspicuous feature. On the north the European shore of the strait is bare and uninviting; the half ruinous village and fort of Sidd-ul-bahr serve only as signs of evident decay; the piers of a fallen aqueduct suggest that the country is but poorly watered: the fairly deep recess of Morto Bay appears to offer an anchorage which is, in fact, dangerous from hidden rocks; and the single tree at the top of the highest hill, once, as the charts still record, the best landmark of the district, has now disappeared.

Turning his face southwards, the traveller will note two low ranges of hills. One runs towards him along the western shore-line from Besika Bay, dropping down to a sand-spit on which lies another decaying fort, Kum Kaleh—Sand Castle: higher up, on its northern brow, it bears a curious line of wind-mills, suggesting that the epithet of “windy” is not

unsuitable for Troy. To his left, another low range runs parallel to the Hellespont, and gently subsides into the level plain. These two unemphatic ridges are the world-famous "promontories," Rhoeteum and Sigeum. Between the two lies the flat plain of the Scamander, stretching for some eight or nine miles back to a hilly country in which few details can be distinguished from the sea. About half-way between the shore and the distant hills the visitor will be able to make out, with the aid of a good glass and a friend who knows the country, an inconspicuous little bluff, standing faintly out against the background, and marked by stripes of "spoil" and débris—the hill of Hisarlik, the centre of the whole landscape, Homer's Troy.

It is significant that the most obvious features of all the hills around the plain should be the work of human hands. The numerous tumuli which stand up against the sky-line have at least a marked outline, and in some instances, notably that of the Ujek Tepe far away to the south, a height almost comparable to that of the hills on which they stand. These tumuli are burying-places of various age; they have unfortunately contributed little to our knowledge of early times. Most of them have long ago been truncated and defaced by treasure-seekers. Some may, in such a scene, be regarded as modern. The great tumulus of Ujek Tepe, for instance, is possibly the tomb built by Caracalla for his freedman Festus in 214 A.D. The traveller who visits Troy



PLATE I.



View of Fortunate from the Point of View of the Author.

from the sea will land at a little jetty close to another Roman tumulus, the "Tomb of Ajax," built apparently by Hadrian when the older tumulus bearing the same name had been well-nigh washed away by the sea. Another, the so-called "Tomb of Achilles," proved when excavated to have been used in the days of the Athenian colony at Sigeum: it contained good Attic work of the fifth century B.C., though the mound itself may date from earlier days. It is hard, therefore, to say which of these various tombs may have been raised in prehistoric times: some at least are of great antiquity, but none can be taken as positive evidence for the Homeric age.

Let us now suppose the visitor to land at the jetty with the "Tomb of Ajax" on his left, and on his right a brackish creek running some distance inland—the mouth, in fact, of a long channel, the In-tepe Asmak, containing little water and no current, except, it would seem, during the spates of winter. As he passes southwards through cultivated land dotted with small oaks, he will round the ridge on which stands the Tomb of Ajax, till he can look up an open valley running from the east, the valley of the Dömbrek-Su, the Simois. This, too, is a petty stream, in summer falling to discontinuous pools, and even when the water runs a few inches deep in spring, losing itself in marshes, and draining to the subsoil rather than through the channel of the In-tepe Asmak.

Crossing the channel of the Dömbrek-Su by a

stone bridge, the traveller finds himself following another similar channel, here called the Kalifatli Asmak, a continuation of the In-tepe Asmak. This channel too is entirely disproportionate to the amount of water which it carries; it is generally a chain of pools, covered in April from side to side with a continuous white carpet of water ranunculus—so close that Virchow has actually seen the tortoises which abound in the pools sunning themselves upon it. The banks are steep and rather high: as it lies between the road and Hissarlik itself, it has to be crossed by a second stone bridge. When this is once passed, the traveller finds himself close to the ruins, and follows the track by a gentle slope to the huts built by Schliemann for the purposes of his excavation, immediately to the south of the heaps of débris and brick which crown the mound itself.

Here we will pause for a time, and, assuming that the mound of Hissarlik is really Troy, we will look round at the landscape, and see how far it corresponds to the scene of the Trojan War described in the *Iliad*.

The identity of the larger features is unmistakable. Over the low range of hills fringing the sea to the west rises the conical peak of Tenedos “notissima fama.” The “broad Hellespont” flows to the north. Samothrace and Ida, farther away, display themselves as seats worthy of gods; Poseidon sitting on the one, and Zeus on the other, can well, with the far-seeing eyes of gods, survey the field of battle.

In the nearer view we find that Hissarlik is just

at the distance from the sea required by the Homeric Troy. Three miles is a small enough distance to be covered several times a day, as the battle surges backwards and forwards between the naval camp and the Trojan walls. The Hellespont, and the ships sailing upon it, can be clearly discerned; yet the distance is too great for the naked eye to distinguish men near the shore. It was therefore necessary for the Trojans to post the fleet-footed Polites as sentinel at a half-way point to warn them when the Achaians were issuing from their camp.¹

It has indeed been held that in Homeric days the sea must have run much farther inland, the river having silted up a deep bay between the promontories of Sigeum and Rhoeteum. This theory seems to have been propounded by a learned lady, Histiaia of Alexandria Troas, and was assumed as self-evident by Strabo: it has been maintained in recent days. Such

¹ In *Il.* vii. 381, *Idaios* is sent from Troy to the Greek camp to propose an armistice for the burial of the dead. He starts at daybreak (*ἠέως*), and finds the Achaians already assembled beside the ship of Agamemnon. He delivers his proposal, which is accepted after brief discussion, and he goes back at once. The Trojans are awaiting the result of his errand; on hearing it they equip themselves to bring in the dead and fetch wood for the pyre, while the Achaians are making like preparation. "Thereafter the sun was newly beating on the fields as he climbed the sky from Ocean, when the two sides met" to collect the bodies. This passage is commonly quoted as evidence of the short distance between town and camp. To me it is not clear that it can be so used. The two limits of time are rather vague, but it is hardly possible to stretch them into more than two hours, from an hour before to an hour after sunrise. And the events crowded into this space, in itself barely enough for the mere passage of *Idaios* backward and forward, preclude our taking it as a piece of prosaic realism. It is by no means clear that the phrase *ἥλιος μὲν ἔπειτα νέων προέβαλλεν ἀρούρα* (421) does not imply the sunrise of the next day. I prefer, therefore, to put this argument aside.

an assumption must have seemed necessary to those who were watching the rapid filling of the deep bays on the western coast of Asia Minor, at Miletus and Ephesus, and elsewhere; but they made the mistake of not noticing the different conditions of the Hellespont, where the sediment of the river is discharged not into a gulf, but at right angles into a narrow channel swept by a strong current. This puts a very definite limit upon the advance of the shore, and an equilibrium between the forces of deposition and dispersion must have been established long ages before the twelfth century B.C. Careful investigations by Virchow and others have failed to produce any sign of marine deposits in the plain, and it may be taken as certain that the coast-line did not in the Mycenaean age materially differ from that which now exists. Hissarlik was as far from the sea then as it is now.

Nor can there be any mistake about the two rivers. Hissarlik lies at the junction of two valleys, through one of which flows the Mendere, a name which is but a slight mutilation of Skamandros adapted to the familiar Turkish word *deré*, "valley." The Mendere is a considerable stream throughout the year; in winter it often brings down heavy floods, which overflow the whole plain, and leave it covered with silt and tree-trunks. The description of the fight between Achilles and the River in *I.* xxi. is a magnificent picture, transfigured by the highest art, of such a flood; the very trees and shrubs, so

minutely named in it, are those which line the course of the Menderes to-day. Here at least we feel that we are in the very presence of the poet.

The other valley, lying to the north of Hissarlik, provides, as we have seen, only a poor brook, with no proper outlet to the sea, and running dry in summer. But this very insignificance corresponds to the subordinate place which the Simois holds in the *Iliad*, compared with the Scamander. It has indeed been doubted if the original tradition of the *Iliad* knew of a Simois at all; I once doubted it myself, but now think otherwise. The due proportion between the two rivers now seems rather an indication of real knowledge of the country, such as might well be incorporated in the very earliest chronicle of the war. The Simois is small indeed, but it marks one of the natural limits of the battlefield, and it is as such that it is generally named.

Satisfactory though this identification is, a serious question arises when we attempt to realise the actual course of the Scamander as conceived in the *Iliad*. The Menderes now runs along the western side of the plain, and is nowhere visible from Hissarlik, from which it is distant at the nearest point more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles. On the other hand, there lies at the foot of the hill, as we have seen, a large water-course, the Kalifatli Asmak,¹ conveying no constant stream, and entirely disproportioned to the line of stagnant pools which lie along it. May not this be the ancient

¹ *Asmak* is the Turkish name for such torrent beds dry in summer.

bed of the Scamander such as it is represented in the Homeric battles? If so, then it lay between the Greek camp and the town, and must have been constantly crossed in the course of the fighting. If the Homeric Scamander ran in or near its present bed, it lay wholly to the west of the battlefield.

The possibility of a wide change of course, where a river, subject to violent winter floods, passes through a nearly level alluvial plain, is not to be denied. The Mendere itself has proved this within the last few years. A new channel opened in 1895, some distance above the village of Yeni Shehr, and this now carries a large, if not the larger, portion of the stream into the great lagoon lying some distance east of the older mouth under the castle of Kum Kaleh. And in the neighbouring valley of the Tuzla Chai (Satniois) there is a clear proof of a similar change of course within recent times; as a Roman bridge now stands, with its arches almost intact, about 230 metres from the present bed of the river.¹

But it does not follow that because a change of bed is possible, it has therefore taken place; still less that it took place between 2000 and 3000 years ago. The banks of the Kalifatli Asmak are steep and sharply marked: they must be constantly renewed. No ancient banks could retain this shape through the numerous inundations to which they have been subject for so long a time. In the case of the Tuzla Chai we are told that the old bridge

¹ *Assos Report*, i. p. 200.

now stands upon a level plain ; “ were it not for the bridge one would not be likely to suspect that the river bed had formerly been in that place.”¹ If the Kalifatli Asmak really represents so old a channel, it must have been subject to a constant scouring action capable not only of keeping it open, but of creating it.

It is in fact only one of many such channels, which intersect the plain at various points, and form indeed one of its characteristic features. There is no cogent reason for supposing this particular bed to be any other than a deep groove cut by the scour of a rapidly subsiding flood, perhaps in the last few centuries, perhaps older, but in itself quite undatable.

There is in the *Iliad* itself a striking picture of exactly such a dry channel cutting through the plain. In the chariot-race in *Il.* xxiii. Antilochos and Menelaos are driving neck and neck : “ and presently did the good Antilochos espy a strait place in a sunk part of the way. There was a rift in the earth, where torrent water gathered and brake part of the track away, and hollowed all the place ”—

ῥωχιδε ἔην γαίης, ἢ χειρίον ἄλλην ὕδωρ
ἐκέρριπεν ὁδοῖο, βάθυσ δὲ χώρον ἅπαντα (420-1).

The Kalifatli Asmak itself contains too much water to be passable by racing chariots ; but there would be little difficulty in finding, not far from the shore, a dry bed which, with its sandy bottom, would serve as the obvious course towards the shore. The point

¹ *Assos Report*, i. p. 200.

is a striking instance of accurate and vivid local knowledge.

In these dry beds, too, we can recognise the *ἐταυλοι* which would soon be filled with Trojan corpses, should Achilles again take the field (*Il.* xvi. 71); and it must surely have been in one of them that Odysseus feigns the ambush to have been set, in reeds and marsh, close under the towering walls of Troy, far from the ships, where the Greek heroes shivered through the frosty night (*Od.* xiv. 468-502).

It seems then that the topography gives us no certain data for the ancient course of the Scamander. Historical notices are confused, and probably indicate a similar uncertainty in ancient days.¹ All that we can do is to see if the conditions allow us to fix on any course which will satisfy the scenery of the *Iliad*. For this purpose we have to choose between two alternatives which, for the sake of brevity, we may distinguish as the Eastern theory and the Western.

According to the Eastern theory, for which the support of Schliemann and Dörpfeld has won wide acceptance, the Scamander flowed in Homeric days along the course of the Kalifatli and In-tepe Asmaks to the sea. It thus lay entirely between the camp and the town, and had to be crossed at a ford by anyone going between the two. This ford lay at the point where it was joined at nearly right angles by the Simois, close to the present bridge by the village of Kum Kõi.

¹ See Appendix A.

The Western theory, on the other hand, maintains that the Scamander then flowed in or near its present bed along the western edge of the plain, and, as now, was nowhere joined by the Simois. The ford led across the river, from the plain to the ridge of hills by Sigeum: the road to the camp passed close by it, but did not actually cross it. It was thus possible to go all the way from town to camp without crossing a river at all.

The ford of the Scamander is mentioned in three passages of the *Iliad*. (i.) In xiv. 432 the wounded Hector is carried by his friends, deeply groaning, "towards the town. But when they came to the ford of the fair-flowing River, even eddying Xanthos, whom immortal Zeus begat, there they lifted him from the chariot to the ground, and poured water over him." (ii.) In xxiv. 349 Priam and Idaios are driving from the town to the camp: "and when they had driven past the great tomb of Ilos, they stayed the mules and horses at the river to drink." And on their return (692) "when they came to the ford of the fair-flowing River, even eddying Xanthos whom Zeus begat," Hermes left them, "and they drove on to the city." In neither of these cases is it said that the ford is crossed: another reason for stopping there is given in each case, namely, to get water, for Hector or the animals. (iii.) At the opening of xxi. the Trojan army is in full flight before Achilles. "But when they came to the ford of the fair-flowing River, even eddying Xanthos, whom immortal Zeus begat,

there sundering them he chased the one part to the plain toward the city, even where the Achaians were flying in affright the day before . . . but half were pent into the deep-flowing silver-eddied river, and fell therein with a mighty noise, and the steep channel sounded, and the banks around rang loudly." Here it is made very clear that, though the ford lies on the direct way to the town, it is not crossed; it is those who are cut off from the way "to the plain toward the city" who are driven into the river: the river lies therefore beside and not across the track which leads to the city.

Let me say at once that the present course of the Scamander does not entirely satisfy the conditions. It is too far to the west: no ford across it could lie actually on the direct road between camp and town. The only position which meets the requirements is a river-bed running through the very middle of the plain, with a ford crossing it in a west-east direction about half a mile west of Kum Köi. That this is at least a possibility is shown by the existence of more or less deserted channels, some of them very deep, along the whole conjectural course of the Scamander proposed in the accompanying sketch map. This will show better than words how the ford lies just where the battlefield is narrowed by the two streams, and thus marks the natural boundary between the opposing forces. Here, as Priam goes to the Greek camp, he enters the danger zone, and Hermes takes charge of him; and here on his return he passes into the

neighbourhood of his friends, and can safely be left by his divine bodyguard.

But it will be urged that Homer expressly says that the Simois joined the Scamander. That is true : in *Il.* v. 774, the goddesses Hera and Athena come down to take part in the battle ; “ and when they came down to Troy and the two flowing rivers, even to where Simois and Skamandros join their streams (ἤχι ῥοὰς Σιωσιᾶς συνβάλλοντες ἰδὲ Σκάμανδρος), there Hera stayed her horses and loosed them from the car and poured thick mist round about them, and Simois made ambrosia spring up for them to graze.” So it is : in this one passage the poet clearly conceives the two rivers as meeting close under Troy, and so cutting the city off from the camp.

He thus stands in direct conflict not merely with the opening of *xxi.*, which so clearly shows that the rivers did not meet, but with the whole of the battle pictures of the *Iliad*. On the Eastern theory, the only battlefield over which armies can move freely is the little space, hardly a mile in length and less in width, bounded by the Hissarlik hills on the south, by the Dömbrek Su and the Kalifatli Asmak on north and west. This might perhaps pass for the fights from the third book to the seventh, where the Greeks have so clearly the upper hand that they may venture to fight with a river passable only by a ford immediately in their rear. But with the eighth book the difficulty becomes acute. Thenceforth the fighting sways constantly backwards and forwards, from

the inside of the Greek camp to the very walls of Troy (xvi. 702), but there is never any ford to be passed. Yet had there been one, inevitably it must have been the very pivot upon which every battle turned; neither side could even get into touch with the other until the ford had been secured.¹ The poet knows well enough what a ford means to a defeated army; when the Trojan host is divided, and part of them are caught in flank at the ford and driven into the river, they are helplessly slaughtered like rats in a trap. But if the ford was where the Eastern theory puts it, such an incident as this must have been of daily occurrence.

This comes out perhaps with a special clearness at the beginning of the eleventh book. In lines 48-51 the Achaian forces are drawn up at the trench immediately in front of the camp. They attack the Trojans, at first with a series of small successes which culminate at line 150 in a sweeping victory. "Footmen slew footmen as they fled perforce, and horsemen horsemen . . . and King Agamemnon followed them, slaying ever and shouting to his Argives . . . and so they hasted past the tomb of Ilos, son of Dardanos of old, through the midmost plain, past the fig tree, hurrying towards the town, and the son of Atreus ever hurrying upon them shouting . . . and when they came to the Skaian gate and the oak tree, there they began to stand and waited one for the other." Here we have specific mention of the tomb of Ilos,

¹ All this is well argued by C. Robert in *Hermes*, xxiv. 78 ff.

which, according to xxiv. 349, must have been quite close to the ford: yet the ford is not; it does not cause even a momentary hindrance, and the fight continues without interruption right up to the Skaian gate of the city itself. It is the same in xvi., when Patroclos chases the Trojans actually from within the camp till he can leap upon the very wall of the town.

It is vain to argue that a ford means little or nothing to the light-shod Oriental, and is an obstacle only to the booted men of modern Europe. That may be true for one man, or even for twenty; but for an army! And an army which placed its reliance on chariots!

The wall round the Greek camp introduces difficulties of its own: it is sometimes present, and sometimes ignored—that at least one may, I think, be permitted to say without incurring the pains and penalties of Higher Criticism. But when it is mentioned, it is a real wall, and the difficulties presented by the moat beneath it are vividly set before us. But the ford, at least as serious an obstacle, is simply ignored from beginning to end of all the fighting between the armies. If we are to believe our poet capable of this, we need trouble no more about Homeric topography, or, for the matter of that, armour and tactics; he is an unreal dreamer, who has no idea of the scenery of Troy or the conditions of battle.

Even the existence in Homeric times of a deep channel where now lies the Kalifatli Asmak, though

it may have been, as now, without any current except in winter, seems to me inconsistent with Homeric scenery. It has steep banks of alluvial soil, and the Turks, lightly though they think of fords, have found it worthy of a stone bridge immediately under Hissarlik. It has already been suggested that the Asmak is of later formation; there may well have been a time when the main channel of the Scamander took the drainage of the Duden swamp near Thymbra, the chief source of the water in the Asmak. There would then have been nothing to keep the Asmak in existence; and I can only picture the place where it now stretches as being, in the days of the Trojan War, level with the surrounding plain.

Robert, in the article already mentioned, adds two reasons for supposing that the Simois is not really conceived as flowing into the Scamander. (i.) In the list of rivers of the Troad in xii. 19-23, all are said to flow "from the mountains of Ida to the sea," and this appears to mean that they all have separate mouths. Here the Simois is mentioned apart from the Scamander. (ii.) When Scamander calls on Simois (xxi. 308 ff.) to help him in overwhelming Achilles, he addresses him not as a subordinate affluent, but as an equal, "dear brother." The arguments are ingenious, but can hardly be called cogent. Indeed the passage in xii., where Simois and Scamander are coupled by a *καί*, whereas all the rest are joined by *καί*, seems rather to mark them off as an inseparable pair: the added description, "whereby many shields and

helms fell in the dust, and the generation of men half divine," applies at least as much to the Scamander as the Simois.

Be this as it may, it is certain that, for the credit of the *Iliad*, the isolated line which speaks of the junction of the two rivers must go. In what manner, whether by itself or in the company of its neighbours, must not here be argued: that would be to enter on the forbidden paths of the Higher Criticism. But when we have once faced the excision, we can say with confidence that in all points where the landscape is fixed, Homer represents it with absolute faithfulness: and that in the one point where it is fluctuating, the changing course of the Scamander, it is possible to frame a reasonable hypothesis which makes the whole picture real and consistent.

There remain some details of the picture which are worth a short discussion, though we are reduced to mere guessing about them.

(1) Firstly, as to the "spring of the plain" (*επισκιδε νεδίοιο*) where the Trojan army is thrice drawn up (x. 160, xi. 56, xx. 3). This I now think Dörpfeld is right in placing at the slightly rising ground on which stand the few huts of Kum Köi, just in the narrow space between the spot where I would place the ford and the modern bridge over the Simois. This is the obvious position for an army defending Troy against an attack from the north: it is well protected on both sides by river beds against flank attacks, and the available front for assault is

narrowed to the utmost. The "rise," it is true, is almost microscopic, but it is enough to lift the village above flood water, and Schliemann testifies that it conceals a rider from the view of anyone on the hill of Hissarlik.¹

(2) Close to it, perhaps on it, must have stood the "Tomb of Ilos," which we have twice found mentioned as a landmark near the ford. In x. 414 the Trojans, encamped on the "spring of the plain," are debating beside the tomb of Ilos; and in xi. 166 the battle is at once in the midst of the plain (*i.e.* half way between ships and town) and beside the tomb of Ilos. So that all is here consistent. Here stood, too, a wild fig-tree serving as another landmark—different of course from the other wild fig-tree which, as we shall see, grew close to the Skaian gate, under the wall of Troy. It may be remarked that close to the village of Kum Kõi lie scattered columns, the remains perhaps of a Roman shrine.² It is likely enough that such a shrine continued an old tradition of the tomb of a hero; though the tumulus, crowned by a pillar of which Homer speaks (xi. 371),³ has long since been washed away.

It may, however, just as well be the site of the

¹ See Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations* (Eng. Tr.), p. 29.

² Schliemann's identification of the spot with the Polisma mentioned by Strabo is unsupported and intrinsically improbable. Dörpfeld thinks that the remains only indicate a Turkish cemetery, the stones having been brought from Ilium.

³ στήλην κεκλιμένον ἀνδροκμήτει ἐπὶ τύμβῳ
"Ἴλου Δαρδανίδου, παλαιοῦ θημοσφροντος.

The tumulus is specially described as "artificial."

tomb of Aisyetes, where (*Il.* ii. 793) Polites sat, relying on his speed of foot, the Trojan sentinel posted to give warning as soon as the Achaians issued from their camp. We can hardly suppose him placed anywhere but just here, half way between the armies. There is room enough for two tumuli in this debatable land, or indeed for more, standing in rows as they do, for instance, on the top of the Bally Dagh. Ancestral tombs are likely enough to be found together in groups.

(3) At the beginning of xx. the gods join for a time in battle, one part going to the Greek army, the other to the Trojan (31-40). But soon a truce is proposed between them, and the Greek party leave the battle-field for "the mounded wall of Herakles, that lofty wall built for him by the Trojans and Pallas Athene, that he might escape the monster and be safe from him, what time he should make his onset from the beach to the plain." The Trojan party "sat down on the brows of Kallikolone."

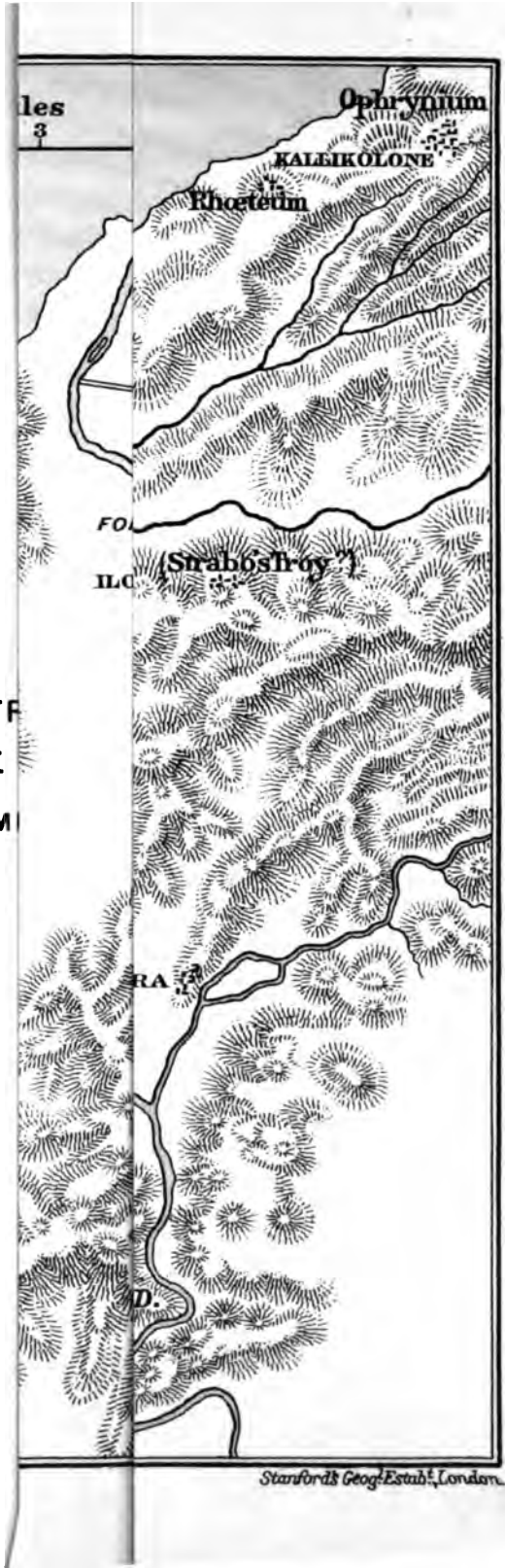
The place where Herakles rescued Hesione from the sea-monster was, according to Stephen of Byzantium and the Scholiasts—deriving apparently from Hellanikos—the promontory Agammeia. There is no evidence from other sources to fix this point: indeed the name is found only in this connexion. But promontories are not abundant on the generally straight shores of the Troad: and Thacher Clarke's identification of Agammeia with "the steep and desolate point of land which forms the northern

boundary of Beshika Bay"¹ is highly probable, and has been accepted by Kiepert. Just to the north of it lies the great cutting through the ridge which tradition ascribed to Herakles, here, as elsewhere, a drainer of marsh-land. The summit ridge close by clearly fulfils the conditions of Homer's Wall of Herakles. Distance, as we know from Zeus on Ida and Poseidon on Samothrace, is no obstacle to divine vision: from here the view of the plain is uninterrupted, and the position is absolutely a neutral one between the opposing armies, as a glance at the map will show. This condition, it may be remarked in passing, is not fulfilled by the location of the Wall of Herakles on the point of Sigeum, which Dörpfeld proposes. This would be to all intents and purposes in the Greek camp, from which the gods retire.

For Kallikolone we should, therefore, naturally look in a corresponding position on the other or eastern side of the plain. The name tells us little; but it must be a hill with "brows," and these are rare in this region of gentle declivities. It happens, however, that just where we want it, there is a group of hills so markedly "browy" that they gave the name of Ophryinion to the Greek town set upon them. The place is that where now stands the modern village of Eren Köi. From the top of this ancient citadel is a clear and striking view right down the valley of the Simois, embracing the whole battlefield; and

¹ *Assos Report*, ii. 226, where the legend is fully discussed.

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Stanford's Geog. Estab. London.



here the Trojan gods, at about the same distance as the Greek, would be equally free from the suspicion of surreptitious interference. And on the lower ridges of this hill-group, where it encloses the Simois valley, Ares had a little before been striding along to encourage the Trojans :—

ἐκὺ κατ' ἀκροτάτης πόλιος Τρώεσσι κελεύων,
ἄλλοτε παρ Σιωθέντι θέων ἐπὶ Καλλικολώνη.

Why this particular group should have received the name of Beauty Hill we cannot pretend to say. It is as destitute as the other hills of the neighbourhood of special distinction of form or colour. But the northern portion can at least claim one beauty—the finest view in the northern Troad, both up and down the Hellespont, from Sestos to Sigeum.

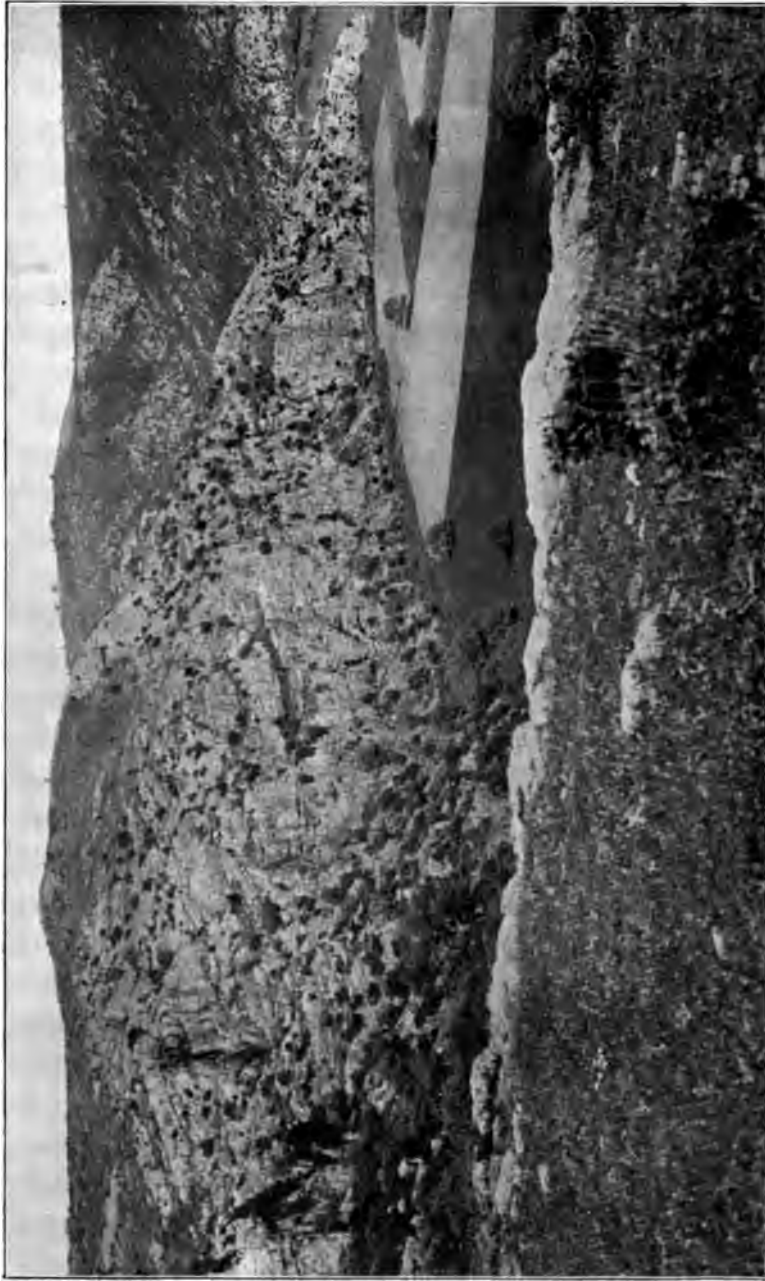
The degree to which the correspondence of “*Dichtung und Wahrheit*” extends may best be measured in contrast with the claims of the only serious rival of Hissarlik, the site on the Bally Dagh,¹ which for about a century was generally regarded as the citadel of Troy. Yet, beyond that it stands on the margin of the Trojan plain, it has hardly a single point in which it answers to the details of the *Iliad*. At a distance of eight miles from the sea, it is safe from sudden surprise, and no fleet-footed Polites would be of service; each attack upon it from the camp would involve a serious expedition, instead of

¹ This, and not Bali or Ballyk, is, according to Mr. Calvert, the correct form. *Bal-ly* is the adjectival form from *Bal*, “honey.” Here *y* expresses the peculiar Turkish vowel (“back high wide,” slightly rounded) which has its nearest relation in the Slavonic languages.

being an incident which could be twice or thrice repeated in a day. A chase round the walls becomes so impossible a feat as to raise Homer's description quite beyond any human interest into the region of grotesque exaggeration so characteristic of Eastern poetry, so carefully avoided by Greek. The hill itself, with the plain below it, is invisible from Ida. And the crowning absurdity is that it involves the identification of the great river, the Mendere, with the unimportant Simois, while the Scamander is found in the little brook which rises from the springs at the village of Bunarbashi, and trickles for half a mile or so till it loses itself in reedy swamps.

No one would ever have dreamt of placing Troy here, had it not been for the supposed discovery of the enthusiastic M. Lechevalier, who said that he had found here the two springs, hot and cold, which Homer places immediately under the walls of Troy. Unfortunately thermometers are not enthusiastic, and obstinately refuse to recognise any difference of temperature between the thirty or forty springs which here gush out from the rocks. The curious thing is that belief in the spot should have survived their conclusive evidence. This is largely to be attributed, no doubt, to the picturesque surroundings of the Bally Dagh, with its steep precipices falling on two sides down to the river, here winding through a gorge of great beauty. It is eminently a place which impresses the imagination; Hissarlik is eminently, so far as natural beauty goes, the reverse.

PLATE II.



THE BALLY DAGH FROM THE S. W.
The Scamander is visible on the extreme right.



And the Bally Dagh is the only picturesque spot round the whole plain.

Much stress has been laid upon the words of the great soldier Moltke, "We who are no scholars suffer ourselves to be simply guided by a military instinct to the spot which, in old times as well as now, would be colonized, if an inaccessible citadel were to be founded." Moltke's "if" is a wise word: inaccessibility is rather a disqualification than an advantage for a town which has to play a part in history. It may indicate the site for a fortress to command a great trade route or an important harbour: in itself it can do no more than furnish a robbers' nest. The Bally Dagh in fact has never been of importance: the very name of the small settlement which once stood on it is matter of dispute. Probably it was Gergis, one of the three hill-forts in which the lady-satrap Mania kept her treasure;¹ for such a purpose it is admirably suited. It has a false appearance of strategic importance as it towers over the defile of the Scamander. But this defile itself is too narrow, steep, and winding to furnish a road; the track to-day uses but a stretch in the middle, and at both ends mounts high over the hill-sides. The natural outlet for the rich plain of the middle Scamander does not lie along it at all; it passes westwards from the modern Ezine over much easier paths to the sea. That this is the best route is amply proved by the importance to which Alexandria Troas rose at

¹ Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1. 15.

once when an artificial harbour was made to afford a shelter on this naturally open and exposed coast; and by the fact that the steep hill commanding the passage, the Chigri Dagh, was the site of a large fortified town, Neandria, which existed till the foundation of Alexandria. This is the really strategic point. The Bally Dagh in fact would have military importance only if the middle and lower plains of the Scamander were in different and hostile hands; it would then form an essential frontier-post between the two. Such a partition is very unlikely, and has apparently never occurred.

In spite of the loving detail with which the *Iliad* (xxii. 147-156) describes the double fountain under the walls of Troy, it is no longer possible to use it as evidence: no such combination of hot and cold springs now exists in the plain. All the sources have been tested: some are warmer than others, but the difference is in no case great, and nowhere are two springs of perceptibly different temperature near one another. The warmest in the plain are those in the Duden Marsh, close to the Thymbra farm. They were uncovered when the late owner, Mr. Frank Calvert, had the marsh drained a good many years ago. The temperature was found by Virchow¹ to be from 20°·4 to 22° C. (68°-72° F.) as compared with the 12°·8 to 17° C. (55°-62° F.) of the rest. They may therefore be called comparatively tepid. But Mr.

¹ *Beiträge zur Landeskunde der Troas*, p. 16. The whole question is there fully and finally discussed.

Calvert, the present owner of the farm, assured me that the nearest cold spring was a mile away. Either therefore a warm spring has disappeared since Homeric days—and, it must be added, before the days of Demetrius of Scepsis, who was as ignorant as we—or the poet purposely introduced into his landscape a feature which did not exist. Of the two hypotheses the latter is the more probable. It does not seem likely that any hot spring ever existed on the tertiary strata of Hissarlik, at a considerable distance from the volcanic rocks which form a marked feature of other parts of the Troad, and are well provided with really hot, and not merely tepid, sources.

Full though the *Iliad* is of local colour, we have nowhere else any set description of any of the natural features of the plain. Everything is taken as known, and enters only by way of allusion ; we are expected to recognise at once the place and significance of the ford, the tomb of Ilos, the Simois and all the rest. Yet so abundant are the materials that it is still possible to do so. We fail only in the one place where the description is elaborate and minute. Is not this to be taken as a warning that the poet is introducing something of his own—something which was not in the primitive story, because it did not in fact exist at Troy? He is clearly within his poetical rights in so doing, on the one condition that he does not introduce anything which clashes with his general scenery ; and what he gives us is in fact

very characteristic of the Troad at large, though not of the immediate surroundings of Troy. The hot springs¹ of the Troad are as marked a feature as the cold which break out all over many-fountained Ida; the poet has done no more than bring them together into the very centre of his scene.

There is indeed, immediately under the summit of Ida, a well-known pair of springs which may have had something to do with the picture: though I must confess that after visiting them I feel less confidence in this explanation. The scenery, where they burst forth at the foot of a steep limestone cliff, is really sub-Alpine, and all the more impressive because there is so little that can be called mountainous in the Troad. They lie close to the natural path from the summit of Ida to the Trojan plain; so that anyone who had himself set eyes on the crocus and hyacinth of the heights is likely to have seen these too.

They are not indeed, in the strict geographical sense, "the sources" of the Scamander, as might be supposed from the way in which they are commonly described. They come not from the head, but from the foot, of a lateral glen, and after a course of a few hundred yards fall into a considerably larger torrent, the main stream of the valley. But this is itself only an affluent of the Scamander, the real

¹ The country is still dotted with hot baths, most of them showing abundant evidence of medical reputation in classical days. The nearest of them is at Lijia Hammam, about 15 miles from Hissarlik, and close to the site of Alexandria Troas.

headwaters of which lie some miles away to the north-east.

It is more important to observe that they cannot properly be described, at least in their present condition, as "hot" and "cold." They differ in temperature; one may be called cool, and the other almost tepid. But it would seem that the difference between them has apparently diminished notably in the course of a century: the contrast may once have been such as the *Iliad* describes.¹ But if we are to have recourse to theories of geological change, it seems possible to use this evidence in favour of the disappearance of a hot spring close to Troy, rather than for the localisation on Ida of what the poet describes in the plain.

There is, however, one piece of evidence which must not be left entirely out of sight. The warmer of the two springs is to-day a holy well. It is sacred to St. Elias: a religious service is held there annually on the saint's day, and it has a great reputation for the cure of fever. The bushes over it are hung with votive rags, and the stones which form its basin show little black patches where incense has been burnt. Such holiness is commonly an immemorial inherit-

¹ The following are the recorded observations, by E. D. Clarke (1801), Barker Webb (1819), Virchow (1879) and myself (1911):

March 1801	. Air	† F.	Upper springs	34° F.	Lower	69° F. †
October 1819	. "	63°	"	43°	"	70°
April 1879	. "	59°	"	47°	"	61°
May 1911	. "	68°	"	45°	"	58°

The difference between Virchow and myself may well be within the limits of error of my thermometer.

ance which has survived all changes of peoples and faiths : it may well be that it dates from days long before Homer. If these springs were places of pilgrimage in prae-Mycenaeae days, we have a reason why they may have been so far displaced, and brought to the central scene of the poem.

We shall see later on that a spring, in fact a triple spring, does exist under the walls of Troy, at a spot where it well suits the tale into which it is woven. It is not unreasonable to suppose that this spring has been endowed with the qualities of various neighbours combined into a poetical whole ; and the marked way in which this is done, so different from the allusive touches where other scenery is concerned, may be taken as the poet's warning that he is here drawing on his imagination.

We must now leave the plain, and turn to the hill of Hissarlik itself for further information.

CHAPTER III

THE RUINS OF TROY

Non semel Ilios vexata.

HORACE.

THE plain of Troy itself, exposed to frequent inundations in winter, marshy and malarious in summer, is almost uninhabitable. The alluvial soil, fertile enough where not waterlogged, can maintain a considerable population; but those who till it are compelled to have their homes on the hillsides, barren though they are, as high as may be above the wet and fever of the level. At the present day only one poor village, that of Kalifatli, lies on the flat;¹ while the hills around carry a considerable number of thriving settlements, some of them newly founded with Moslem refugees from various Turkish countries taken over by Christian powers. Of all these ranges, the one most obviously convenient to the tiller of the plain is that of Hissarlik: instead of lying along the margin like the rest, it projects into the centre, and so gives access to the largest area of fertile land. We need not be surprised therefore to find that it has

¹ Kum Kõi is, I believe, inhabited only during the summer.

been for nearly 5000 years an inhabited site. The actual point where the ruins stand has indeed been clear of houses for some 1200 years or more; but the neighbouring village of Chiblak is old, and a refugee settlement, named Hissarlik from the ruins, has recently been established still nearer to them.¹

The district offers for building the three most important materials, timber, stone, and clay. The hills are in parts well wooded, and the great pine forests of Ida are not far off. The limestone rocks at hand are easily quarried; they produce two sorts of stone, one hard and durable, the other soft and soon crumbling away when exposed to the air, though sufficiently good for foundations. The third material, clay, only needs carrying up from the plain below. In the form of sun-dried bricks it offers the most convenient and serviceable of all substances for cheap construction: walls made of it are warm in winter and cool in summer, and last indefinitely so long as they can be kept dry. They must be raised on stone sills from contact with the moisture of the soil, protected from drip by wide eaves, and kept faced with some sort of plaster or whitewash to preserve them from driving rain. When once the wet is allowed to get in they quickly subside into a heap of mud. Clay roofs are a special source of anxiety: they have to be rolled after every shower, and the

¹ It will not be found on the map, as it is more recent than Spratt's survey (1844); it lies just where the word "Amphitheatre" is placed. Since these pages were in the press I have seen the new Turkish map just issued. In this the village is called Tefkik.

roller on the flat roof—a drum of an ancient column for choice—is still a familiar sight throughout the district.

It will readily be understood that under these conditions any limited site, if inhabited for long, would rapidly grow in height. If deserted for only a few years, it would be found by returning settlers a heap of confused rubbish, with walls and roofs fallen in, timbers rotted, and stones and shapeless clay all mingled together. The new inhabitants would roughly level fresh platforms by shovelling some of the débris over the sides of the hill, and bringing up new material for their new houses. So it was that the hillock of Hissarlik, at first a rocky hump rising only some 50 feet above the plain, grew in the course of centuries till this height had been almost doubled by human hands.

The appended section (Fig. 1) is not drawn to scale; it is merely diagrammatic, but shows the way in which each stratum after the first completely envelops all that have preceded it. The summit has twice been levelled: first in Stratum II., at a height of 100 feet above the sea, and afterwards by the Greeks or Romans who formed the top, at a height of about 120 feet, into a temple precinct. In so doing they sheared off and destroyed for ever the whole central portion of Stratum VI. The hill thus roughly resembles half an onion, with a slice taken off the top. The whole northern slope too has been stripped of all remains of the walls which must

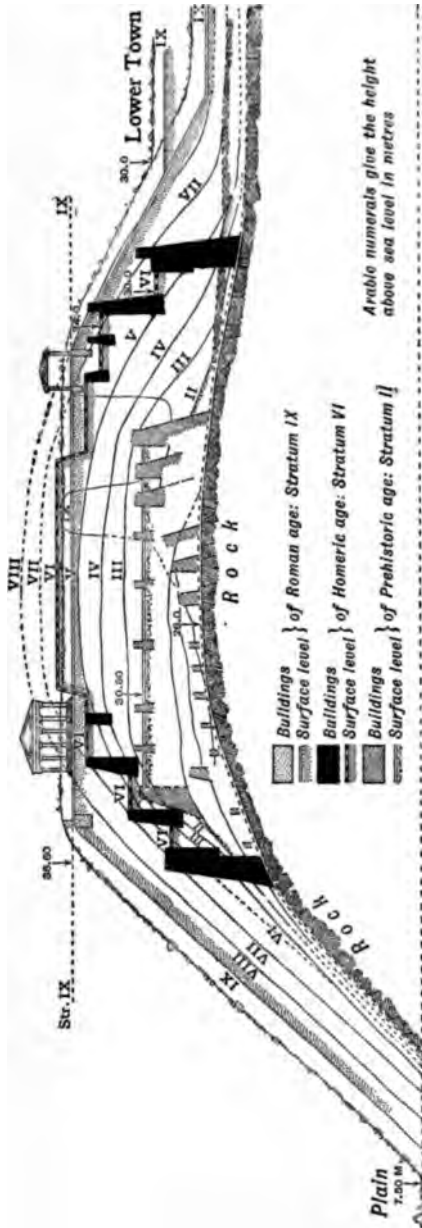


FIG. 1.

have stood there. They formed a tempting quarry, and Strabo records the tradition, probable enough in itself, that Archaianax of Miletos built the walls of Sigeum from the stones of Troy.¹ The various strata are numbered from the lowest upwards by Roman numerals, I., II., etc. The distinction corresponds generally to difference of culture as well as mere superposition; but this is not always the case. The numbering dates in fact from days when the real meaning of the strata had not been worked out, and for the sake of continuity of record it has been thought best to retain it, though in some

¹ xiii. 1. 38-39.

details it is misleading. There is, for instance, little but position to distinguish III. from IV., while V. might perhaps be regarded rather as an earlier period of VI. On the other hand the contrast between the "first period" and the "second period" of VII. is at least as great as between any two strata.

The various strata were named "Cities" by Schliemann, and the name is still used, though it again has become somewhat conventional. The various settlements were either villages or castles; no city, or even town, stood on the spot till the Romans built Ilium. Demetrius of Scepsis says that in his day, the first half of the second cent. B.C., Ilium was no more than a *κοινὸν*, too big for a village, but not to be called a town; and that the houses were not even tiled. Both these observations have been confirmed by the excavations. Not a single roof-tile has been found earlier than Roman days.

Into the history of the excavations themselves it is needless to enter here. Up to the year 1890 the story is told in Schuchhardt's *Schliemann's Excavations*. The English translation of that work appeared at the moment when, by a cruel irony of fate, Schliemann died, just too soon to see the walls of Homer's Troy, for which he had searched in vain for twenty years. The few Mycenaean potsherds found in the last of his campaigns proved the clue by which, after his death, Dörpfeld, with funds furnished first by Mme. Schliemann, and afterwards by the German Emperor, solved the riddle. His solution of it ranks

with the greatest feats of scientific divination. The brief abstract of it which follows can give but an imperfect idea of the steps by which the conclusion was reached.

THE FIRST STRATUM

The earliest settlement which has left traces on the hill was discovered by Schliemann when, in 1872, he cut his great trench from the north down to the solid rock. Founded on the rocks were several walls, and with them were fragments of pottery and other remains, which give some idea of the culture of the settlers. The way in which the excavation was conducted was, however, not such as to enable us to speak positively as to what belongs to this stratum. A trench cut ruthlessly down through seven strata obviously leads to a possible intermingling of small objects falling down the steep sides, and some of the finds which Schliemann attributes to this stratum are now referred with confidence to one or other of the upper layers. This is particularly the case with some of the objects of metal; and it is therefore impossible to say definitely whether this settlement was purely neolithic or "chalcolithic"—standing, that is, at the beginning of the bronze age. It is, however, probable that some bronze knives at least, which differ from any found in the upper strata, may be taken as evidence that the use of metal on a small scale was already known. The bulk of the imple-



SCHLIEMANN'S GREAT TRENCH, LOOKING NORTHWARDS.
The Walls of the First Stratum are seen at the bottom.



ments, however, was of stone, chiefly jade, greenstone, and serpentine.¹

Schliemann also attributed to this stratum certain fragments of wheel-made pottery which further inquiry would lead us to put among later work ; it would seem that the use of the wheel was still unknown. The pottery which unquestionably belongs to the first settlement, though hand-made, shows in the best examples great technical skill. Some is rougher, some finer ; but even the rougher sherds are often covered with a glaze of fine clay skilfully smoothed with a polisher of stone. The colour is generally black, but varies considerably, owing apparently to the fact that the baking was done in an open fire, not in an oven. The decoration generally consists of linear patterns, straight lines or zig-zags, rarely curved, and filled in with white chalk. It is usually confined to the inside of the cups.

These objects are, however, now far from Hissarlik, in the museum at Berlin. All that can be seen of the first settlement on the spot consists of a few lines of wall running transversely across the bottom of the great trench. One of them at once strikes the eye from the arrangement of the stones in a sort of herring-bone fashion,² the others are little more than lines of rude and almost unshaped blocks. The two southern-

¹ "Virchow afterwards excavated in this stratum. Bronze has certainly been found in it, as Virchow and I myself attest. I do not share Götze's view. The settlement was certainly neolithic, but already possessed metals, like, for example, the neolithic stratum in Boeotia" (DÜRPFELD).

² Marked with "b" in Plate III.

most are marked on the plan as wider than the rest, though on the spot this difference now hardly appears to the eye. It seems, however, to afford evidence that these were walls of defence, while the others belonged to houses or similar buildings, perhaps only sheepfolds, whose plan can no longer be discerned. If this is correct it follows that the settlement must have existed for a long period, and was extended by pushing forward the line of defensive wall : there is no other obvious reason why two thick walls should have been built one in front of the other. Further evidence of long-continued habitation is afforded by the fact that some walls have been found whose foundations do not go down to the rock, but rest on débris. The considerable depth of the deposit, some 12-14 feet, points in the same direction ; but the upper portion of it, below the surface of the second settlement, shows no sign of human habitation, and is therefore probably made earth, brought to raise the level of the plateau.

With this scanty knowledge we must be content to leave this early settlement in prehistoric darkness.

THE SECOND STRATUM

With the Second Stratum we find ourselves, in every sense, at a higher level than the first. Culture has advanced, and we can trace, to some extent, its gradual development ; so that, though we have no means whatever of connecting the story of the town,

or rather castle, with outside events, we can still construct the skeleton of a history.

We find ourselves dealing with a people who were in the full development of the bronze age. They were a wealthy people: abundant stores of gold ornaments were found among the ruins left after the final destruction of the settlement by a great conflagration, which swept the entire area of the castle. They inhabited the site through a long series of years, which must, on the whole, have been a period of increasing wealth; for twice, at least, the central plateau was enlarged by the extension of the great walls which surrounded it; and twice the houses which covered its surface were levelled and rebuilt, apparently on a larger scale.

The settlement, however, was no more than a castle of quite moderate size. Though the trace of the walls is not complete, enough remains to show that the interior area available for buildings, roughly circular in shape, can hardly anywhere have much exceeded 100 yards in diameter. It can at best have been the strongly-fortified dwelling of a chieftain and his family, with a quite small garrison of retainers.

The surface of the hill was from the first regularly levelled, and this level of just over 30 metres, say 100 feet, above the sea, is so exact throughout as in itself to mark off this stratum from all the rest. The height of the hill outside varied; on the S.W. side, just outside the walls, it was about 21 or 22 metres (70 feet) above the sea, while at the S.E., where it

joined the neck of high land running eastward, it was about the same as the interior. Thus large retaining walls were needed all round the S.W. and W. sides, and presumably still larger ones on the N., where all trace of them is lost.

The construction of these retaining walls is very characteristic of the stratum. They are built with a very marked slope or "batter," varying roughly from 45 to 60 degrees, and of comparatively small stones, hardly hewn, and loosely laid together with nothing better to bind them than unburnt clay. They can thus be climbed almost anywhere. They terminate at the interior level of 100 feet. On the top of them stood the walls proper: vertical ramparts of unburnt clay, crowned, we must suppose, by a roofed gallery running along the top—for a clay wall needs such a roof to preserve it from the effects of rain. How high the ramparts were cannot be told; we can only say that they were not less than 10 ft. high, for in some places the remains are still standing to that height. They seem to have had an average thickness of something like 11 feet. On the S.E. side, where the inner and outer levels were the same, the retaining wall was needless, and the clay ramparts stood directly on a vertical stone socle about 3 ft. high, just enough to prevent the moisture of the soil rising into and softening the sun-dried bricks.

These walls were pierced by two main gates; one on the S.W. side, another on the S., just where it begins to turn to the N.E. It is a study of the

PLATE IV.



WESTERN WALL OF SECOND STRATUM.
Ramp in foreground, Gate FH at back. From N. W. corner
of VI. M.



alterations made in these gates which has enabled Dörpfeld to divide the history of the stratum into three periods; a division confirmed by corresponding differences in the interior buildings, and to some extent by advances in culture. It may be mentioned here, though somewhat out of place, that there was a distinct step in civilisation between the first and second periods of this settlement. In the first period, as careful excavation has proved, the pottery shows no advance beyond that of the First Stratum; indeed in some respects there is a falling off. The wheel is not yet known, and the handiwork, notably the polishing of the surface, is inferior; the pots are still baked at the open fire, and exhibit all the irregularity of hardness and colour which that process involves. But in the second period both the potter's wheel and the kiln have been introduced, and are used with a considerable degree of technical skill.

The architectural evidence for the three periods of the second stratum is clearest in the case of the southern gateway, and is well set out in the accompanying figures, which show the first and the latest states of the gate in solid black (Figs. 2 and 3). It will be seen that the original approach from the outside was by a long passage about 8 feet wide, rising by a gentle slope, about 1 in 15, from a height of 26·51 metres, 87 feet above the sea. This passage is evidently intended for the use of cars. It passes through a large tower projecting from the city wall. The round dots flanking it on both sides represent

wooden posts, which have left clear proof of their existence. It appears that the Second Stratum was

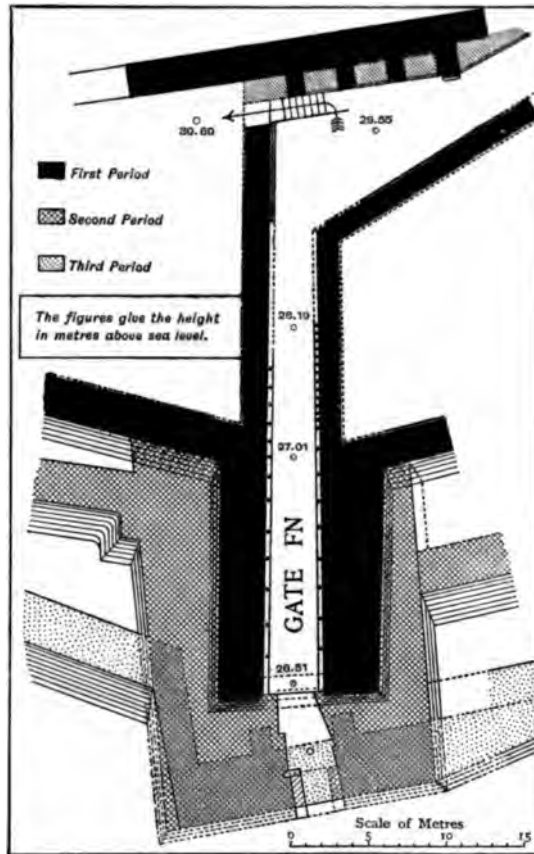


FIG. 2.—The South Gate of Stratum II. : First Period.

not free of disaster, even before the final conflagration ; for fire has raged along this passage, and while destroying the posts, has stereotyped their memory. When the excavation first uncovered this region, the

remains of wood-ashes were found in these spots, and it was moreover possible to measure the diameter of the posts, and even to tell something of their surface; for the fire had baked all the surrounding clay into solid brick, and preserved not only the holes in which they stood, but even the marks which they had made in the clay of the vertical walls.¹ They were roughly hewn stems of some 8 inches in diameter.

It is evident that they were meant not only to support the walls, but to carry a roof. We can, therefore, say that the great tower through which the way went had an upper floor at about the level of the inner plateau. At one point in the right-hand wall, just when it has passed the main wall, it will be seen that the posts for a short distance stand much closer together. This probably indicates that through some subsidence or bad work the side wall had here given way, and was thus repaired.

A little beyond this spot the roadway makes a turn to the right. It has, in fact, almost reached the building which stood in the middle of the fortress, and in order to maintain an even slope, it was necessary that it should take a circuitous course. But it can be seen that a steep ramp—almost a staircase—is provided for foot-passengers, and brings them up straight to the front of the main building (see Fig. 4). How the main approach continued could only be discovered by destroying later remains,

¹ Exposure to the weather is unhappily doing its work rapidly; in 1911 I could hardly distinguish a trace of these interesting marks which in 1908 were quite unmistakable.

and is, therefore, not known. It may either have turned round till it reached the main level near the top of the little ramp, or it may have led to some building farther to the right than the present megaron of the third period, to which we shall presently come.¹ That the roadway was open to the sky after passing the bend is indicated by the fact that the walls are here sloping and revetted with stones, instead of being vertical and sustained by wooden posts.

The additions made to this entrance in the second period are shown in Fig. 2 by the cross-hatched portions. It will be seen that on the W. side the wall has been brought forward 20 feet and on the E. 30, while the tower covering the gateway has been doubled in area, the whole of the older work being enclosed in an outer casing of fresh masonry, enabling a much larger number of men to take part in the defence. But the original design of the covered way has been adhered to. The additions themselves were apparently made not in a single stage, but in two successive enlargements.

In the third period the whole design was fundamentally changed. The old covered way was entirely filled up, the surface levelled, and a new main wall built, abutting on the large tower nearly at its outer point, and standing on both sides of it well in front of the old wall. The area of the tower itself was levelled and thus thrown into the interior plateau.

¹ It may be noticed that in the square F3 of the plan are foundations which seem to indicate the existence at this point of a large building of the first period.

The abolition of the covered way gave a considerable gain in space to the inner area, which must have been inconveniently cramped by the sunk road up the middle of it. A new gate was built a short distance to the east. It is marked FO in Fig. 3,

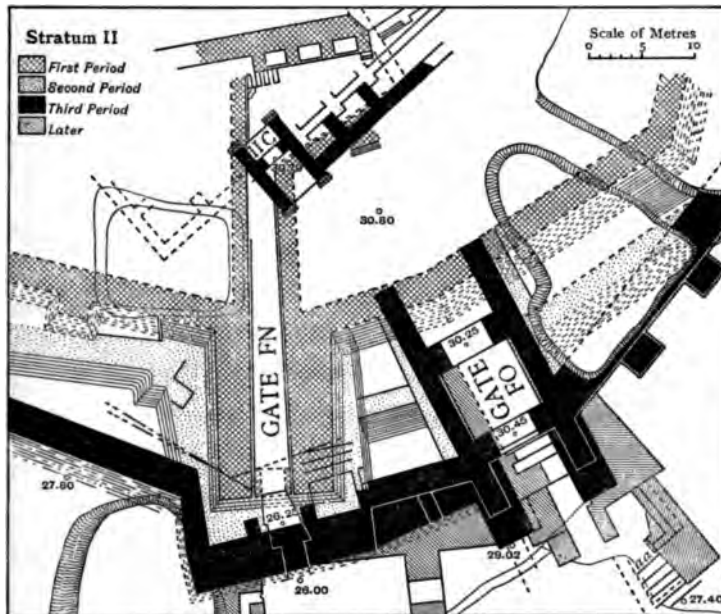


FIG. 3.—The South Gate of Stratum II. : Third Period.

where the solid black shows the state of this portion of the wall after the rebuilding.¹

The new gateway itself consists of a central hall, formed by projecting side-walls, which evidently served to support two folding-doors. On either side

¹ The singly hatched portion outside the black shows later additions, the period of which is uncertain ; they must be left out of account here.

of this hall, in front and at the back, are two more spaces enclosed by side-walls of about the same length as those of the middle chamber. There is no means of saying whether these supported a roof, and so formed two porches, or were merely buttresses. As Dörpfeld remarks, a covered chamber outside the gate is not a likely arrangement, as it would merely form a shelter to protect an enemy attacking the gateway.

This gate is on the general level of the inner plateau, its sill being but a few inches lower than the floor of the Megaron. It is placed where the slope of the hill brings the outside level nearly to that of the plateau, but there was still a rise of several feet to be gained before the wall was reached; whether there was for this purpose a ramp or steps is not clear. The steps which appear at the right-hand bottom corner of Fig. 3, marked *aa*, belong to a later time.

We can, however, form a conjecture by comparing what was done at the S.W. gate. The change in the position of the gate which we have been considering was in fact part of a systematic reconstruction, and the same stages can be traced in the gate marked FL, in squares B5 and C5. Gate FL was, like FN, formed originally by a large projecting tower pierced by a covered way which penetrated some distance inside the wall before it reached the central level. Here again the wall was pushed forward in the second period, though not so far; nor were any great

PLATE V.



THE RAMP FROM THE W.



additions made to the size of the covering tower. Here, too, in the third period, the tower was levelled, and the main wall built right across it—not in this case outside—a new gate being made a short distance to the east. This new gate, FM, though smaller than FO, shows precisely the same plan—the central chamber or guard-room, with the projecting walls forming antechambers in front and behind.

In this case we see two features which may probably have existed in FO. There, however, they are barely, if at all, traceable, whereas in FM they form two of the most noticeable remains of the Second Stratum. The first is the sallyport, a narrow passage which will be seen on the main plan leading northwards from the covered way, just at the angle where the wall abuts on the tower. When the wall was brought forward in the second period, this passage would have been blocked, had it not been continued at right angles through the new structure. This continuation formed a sort of small interior chamber in the thickness of the wall, and was closed by a doorway with a wooden lintel, supporting the upper portion of the wall. When Dörpfeld discovered it, it was still perfect, except that the wooden lintel had decayed, so that the stones immediately above had sunk till they rested on the rubbish with which the whole chamber and doorway had been filled. He put an iron girder to retain them in their position; but this was stolen for the sake of the metal, and the upper portion of the door fell in. But the inner

chamber, and the sideposts of the door, are still conspicuous, as the wall here stands no less than 25 feet high.

The other striking feature of this portion of the wall is the great ramp leading to the gate FM. The portion of it which is uncovered rises steeply, at a slope of about 1 in 4; it is paved with limestone slabs, carefully fitted, and as sharp, one would think, as the day they were laid. It is noteworthy that they show no traces of wheels: indeed wheeled traffic would hardly have been possible on so steep a slope.

In addition to these two great gates there may have been others on the north side, where the wall has entirely perished: there was also a small sally-port at the extreme west point (FJ in plan, square B4).

There were also, at one point at least, just east of the great gate FO, three flanking towers. Here the ground outside rose nearest to the level of the fort, and protection was most needed.

The internal plateau to which these gates led was occupied by a number of buildings. When Schliemann began his excavations, he drove his great trench through the western half of this plateau, and destroyed some of the most important evidence; but fortunately he left enough to give an idea of what must, to all appearance, have been the principal dwelling within the fort. This is known as the megaron, and is marked II. A (Fig. 4). The plan can be fairly made out in most respects; but the



THE MEGARON AND SCHLIEHMANN'S TRENCH.



back wall is entirely lost, with most of that on the S.W. side. We may be sure, however, that the palace consisted mainly of a great hall, no less than 35 feet in width, and at least 65 feet in length—

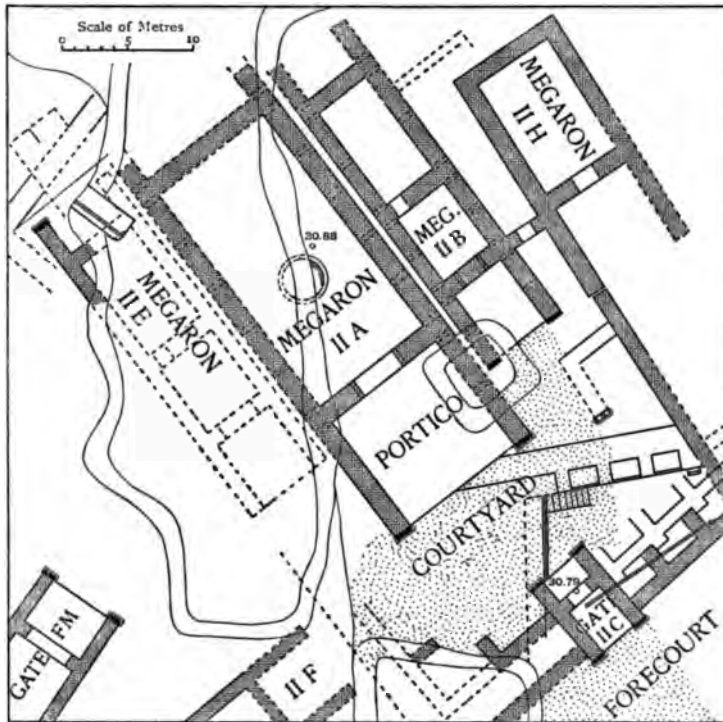


FIG. 4.—The Megaron and Propylaea (Stratum II.).

possibly, but not probably, more. In front of it was a large portico, open to the S.E., and communicating with the hall by a single doorway.

The walls of the megaron rested on a sill of stone, but were themselves built of unbaked brick, strengthened by beams of wood, some laid longitudinally

between the courses of bricks, others crossing through the wall from side to side. In the conflagration which destroyed the palace these beams did us the good service of baking the bricks hard, and thus preserving them in large measure in their original position. To the same reason we owe our knowledge that the roof was also of clay resting on large wooden beams. In the centre of the hall lay the circular hearth, of which a small portion has been spared on the edge of the great trench, just enough to enable its size to be ascertained from the dimensions of the surviving curve of the rim.

Plate VI. gives a general view of the megaron. The pillar of earth marked *i* is left to show the height of the hill before excavation, here still below the Mycenaean level. At *d* is seen a mass of clay débris as it lay after the fire; upon it stand walls of Strata III. and IV., still more clearly seen in Plate VII. The letters *b*, *c* and *k* show the line of the eastern wall of the megaron; *b* marks the stone socle, *c* the clay wall standing on it. At *k* is seen a larger piece of clay wall; the well-marked cleft down the middle of it is the space between the adjacent but separate walls of this and the smaller megaron at its side. The cross-walls separating the portico in front from the large hall behind are marked *m* and *n*; *p* stands on the only visible piece of the western wall, which is better shown in Plate VII. On the left is Schliemann's trench with part of the walls of the First Stratum at the bottom. The

PLATE VII.



THE MEGARON.

In the foreground is seen the worked Stone Sill on which stood the Wooden Anta of the W. Wall.



tiny piece of the hearth is of course not to be seen. It has now, I fear, disappeared for ever into the trench beside it; I could not discover it in 1911, though it was visible in 1910.

This stately house—stately at least in plan, for of its elevation we can tell nothing—opened upon a courtyard enclosed by walls. Through these walls was pierced a gateway, formed of two porticos back to back, a model followed many centuries later in the typical Greek propylaion. The great stone which formed the threshold of the doorway is still conspicuous *in situ*. The gate lay approximately in the axis of the hall, but was inclined somewhat obliquely so as to lead straight to the great gateway of the third period, FO, with which we have already dealt. It was itself built directly over the sunk passage of the older gateway FN, and this position affords conclusive proof that both courtyard and propylaion belong to the third period. There was, however, an alteration within this period.

Just to the east of the propylaion can still be seen the foundations of two walls, one immediately behind the other. Their alignment and situation show them both to have been courtyard walls. Each has on the inner side, that towards the palace, projecting buttresses, which may have served to carry a penthouse roof, forming at the same time either store-chambers, or more probably, since there is no trace of doors, sheltered recesses something like a cloister. It is clear that both walls cannot have existed together;

the superior work of the outer one leads to the conclusion that it represents an addition to the area of the courtyard, effected by pulling down the inner wall and rebuilding it in better style a few feet farther from the palace.

The palace itself was flanked on the east by another smaller house, which has left considerable remains of walls, burnt, like those of its neighbour, to hard brick. It shows an entrance portico opening, as in the case of II. A, into a central hall, here, however, of no great size. In the back wall is a doorway placed, not centrally, but against the S.W. wall, giving access to a rather larger chamber. This house has sometimes been called the women's apartments, as in the case of the smaller house which lies beside the great megaron at Tiryns. There is, however, no justification for such a name, which involves assumptions quite beyond any possible confirmation. It is rendered less probable also by the fact that some uncertain traces of the existence of a similar small house to the S.W. of the megaron have been found. In Fig. 4 may be seen outlines of a piece of wall marked II. E, which may be the N.W. corner of this house. But the great trench has swept away so much that Dörpfeld does not feel justified in basing any definite conclusions on this tiny bit of evidence.

There is, however, one point which leads to the conclusion that this corner belongs to a building of the third period. The front ends of the side walls of the megaron clearly show that they were faced with

parastades—wooden *antae* formed of boards standing on the stone bases, which still remain.¹ The use, and even the necessity, of such *parastades* is clear. Walls of unburnt brick had great advantages, so long as they could be protected from the destructive attacks of wet. The side walls could be so protected by large overhanging eaves, resting on the cross-beams which bore the roof. But the skill of the builders was taxed to protect the front and back walls, where were no longitudinal beams to carry eaves. They therefore lengthened the side walls, and made at the back a sort of blind portico, similar to that in front but much shallower, and with no entrance to the inside. This left only the ends of the side walls open to the rain; and these were protected by the means of the wooden *parastades*.

This method of building is very characteristic of the third period of the Second Stratum; it is found nowhere else, and would seem to have been an architectural improvement contemporaneous with the new style of the great gates. It is found in the propylaion II. C, in the back portico of the gate FM, and in the fragment of building marked II. F in square D6. This last is of particular interest, as it shows the entire back wall of some building, while the period to which it belongs is beyond doubt, since it lies directly over the levelled foundations of the

¹ Plate VII. shows in the foreground the stone, channelled to receive the wooden planks which formed the *parastas* at the S.W. corner of the great megaron. The corresponding stone on the S. E. side is visible at the bottom right-hand corner of Plate VI.

earlier walls of the first and second periods.¹ And as the little fragment II. E shows the same construction, it may with some confidence be held to be contemporaneous with the megaron II. A.

The cross-hatched lines which are shown in the large plan intermixed with the walls of the later period, in II. A, II. B, and other obscure buildings to the N.E. of them, indicate foundations of the second, and in a few cases of the first, period of the Second Stratum. These buildings were in all cases levelled to the ground before the rebuilding of the third period, and it was only by means of holes dug through the floors of this period that scanty evidence was found to prove the existence of the older houses.²

To the N.E., in the squares G 3-4, will be seen on the plan a piece of the main wall uncovered, below the site of the late Roman temple. Some distance behind it lie other walls of great thickness, roughly following the line, ascertained or probable, of the outer wall. In Dörpfeld's opinion it is highly probable that the two lines of wall together formed a huge fortification of not less than 50 feet in breadth, with these great casemate-like chambers enclosed within it. This construction would offer some analogy to the galleries and chambers contained in the thickness of the great south wall of Tiryns. It is quite possible, so far as the evidence goes, that the whole wall round the east and south sides may have been built on this

¹ I searched in vain for any trace of it when last at Hisarlik.

² These foundations can be seen in Plate VI. a little beyond the line of the cross-walls *m-n*.

enormous scale : some of the unexplained foundations near the gate FM seem to indicate such a conclusion.

Architectural evidence, however, is not our only, or indeed our chief, guide to the history of this remarkable Second Stratum. At various points within the walls and houses were found deposits of amazing richness and variety. It is impossible here to describe these in any detail ; those who wish to learn their full significance must refer to Schliemann's original publication in *Ilios* (1880) and *Troja* (1884) ; or better still to Schuchhardt's *Schliemann's Excavations* (Eng. trans., 1891), with the essential supplements and corrections in Dörpfeld's work. In the latter the pottery is dealt with by H. Schmidt, pp. 243-319, and the metal objects and other smaller finds by Goetze, pp. 320-423. It must be sufficient here to state the main results, so far as they seem established at present, in the briefest possible form. It must be said at once that both these experts agree that there is a continuous development to be observed in all the strata from the second to the fifth. Unfortunately all have been so mixed up in Schliemann's collection that they cannot now be properly separated, and must be treated together. But so large a proportion of the finds clearly belongs to the Second Stratum only that it will be best to speak of them here.

On the pottery we have already touched. It has been pointed out that two periods are clearly marked, and that the introduction of the latter, with its two great advances, the kiln and the potter's wheel, took

place during what is independently known from the architectural evidence as the second period. There can be no doubt that all the pottery found in the stratum is of local fabric. Much of it is quite peculiar to Troy. Among the characteristic types may be mentioned the jars with projections at the sides pierced with vertical holes for suspension by strings. These are particularly abundant in the First Stratum, but continue through the succeeding periods. Still more peculiar are the "face-urns," or vases in the shape of a human figure. The first signs of the type occur in the First Stratum, where rough attempts at the human face are found, drawn in an incised outline on the necks of a few vases. But the shape becomes common in the Second Stratum. The usual form consists in a rounded vase with a cylindrical neck, over which fits a cylindrical lid. On the side of the lid are rudely moulded the features of the face. In the oldest instances these are fairly represented, with prominent nose, arched eyebrows, round eyes with a horizontal line for the eyelids, and sometimes, but not always, a straight line for the mouth, with ears something like shells. On the almost globular body are sickle-shaped arms, and dots to represent the breast. But with the introduction of improved technical processes in the second period this tendency to naturalism dies away, and the features turn into merely conventional symbols. The process can be traced till, in the latest examples, the ears have become mere projections for suspension, the brows

have turned into a meaningless wavy line, and the eyes have become dots, sometimes below the lump which now represents the nose.

The only surface decoration found is in geometrical patterns of incised lines, sometimes filled with white matter, probably chalk. Various colours are obtained by lustrous glazes and other technical processes, but no painting appears. The characteristic tint is grey, which grows more and more common as time goes on.

It is, however, by its wealth of metal, particularly gold, that the Second Stratum surprises us. No less than seventeen hoards were discovered, most of them containing objects of gold and silver. They were found by Schliemann in the early days, and the exact spots where they lay are very imperfectly recorded. The great "royal treasure" was almost certainly hidden in the thickness of the brick rampart on the main wall near the gate FL; many of the others seem to have occupied similar positions, and thus to have escaped the notice of those who burnt the fort. Of less precious metals copper and bronze are found in abundance, and form the mass of ordinary tools. That they were of local manufacture, at least in many cases, is shown by the discovery of a number of moulds for casting metal. With them were also a great number of stone implements of the best style. Some of these too were made in Troy, for two flint cores were found from which blades and scrapers had been flaked off: but the mass were probably imported, many perhaps from the great prehistoric workshop for

edged tools of obsidian, discovered by the British School at Athens near Phylakopi in Melos. Others, of such valuable material as jade and lapis lazuli, were most likely imports from Central Asia, which sent lapis lazuli as a tribute to Egypt. Numerous objects of rock crystal, amber, and even porcelain are found among the various treasures, and appear to indicate commerce with distant lands. One of the "treasures," it may be remarked, consists apparently of metal "scrap," waste fragments put aside to be melted up again, and represents part of the stock of a smith.

One important point must not be passed over. A small object, apparently the knob of a staff, presented all the appearance of metallic iron. On the strength of this the use of iron was said to have been already known in the Second Stratum. Analysis has shown, however, that the substance is in reality not metallic iron at all, but a crude mineral containing in it a large percentage of iron. There is therefore no proof that the use of the metal was known at this early date (Goetze in *Troja and Ilion*, pp. 338-9, 367, 423).

THE THIRD, FOURTH, AND FIFTH STRATA.

The buildings of the Second Stratum, as we have said, were destroyed by a great conflagration, which covered the whole surface of the level plateau with a mass of burnt stones and clay hardened to solid brick, often indeed vitrified by the violence of the flames.

On this layer, some 6 feet thick, later settlers, after what interval we cannot even guess, built a village. It consisted of small houses built with stone walls—unburnt bricks were here little used—a labyrinth of little chambers with no distinguishable plan: some of them may as well have been byres or sheep-folds as human habitations. The greater part of them lay directly over the important central buildings of the Second Stratum, and have been cleared away in subsequent excavation. West of the great trench, however, some are still to be seen. The best preserved is in the middle of square C5, and is marked on the plan by a plain outline lying obliquely across the coloured foundations of earlier houses. It enjoyed a short period of fame, after Schliemann's campaign of 1879, as the Palace of Priam. It is in reality no more than a poor peasant's house: the largest room is only 22 × 13 feet. The walls still stand to the height of 7 feet, and make it fairly conspicuous.¹ In the floor were found four great jars, serving for stores. This house, unlike others of the stratum, had three courses of unburnt bricks lying between the stones of which the lower and upper portions were built.

The inhabitants of this poor village seem, however, to have been capable of using for their own protection so much of the old fortress wall as still stood above the ground. This is shown by the fact that the S.E.

¹ It is visible in Plate iv.—the highest piece of wall lying just under the right-hand slope of the great heap of unexcavated earth which cuts the sky-line.

door FO still continued in use. The entrance was narrowed to about 6 feet, to make it more defensible for a scanty population, and small towers were built at the side, with a staircase to give access from the outer neck of land, which lay some 13 feet below the gateway (Fig. 3, *aa*).

There are no signs of violent destruction of this settlement; it would seem to have been simply deserted by its inhabitants. The roofs fell in from decay, and carried with them the upper portions of the side-walls, which filled up the interior to a considerable height. This accounts for the comparatively good preservation of the lower portions of the walls.

Of the Fourth Stratum there is even less to be said than of the Third. The hill was again occupied by a poor population of shepherds or farmers, at a time when the traces of previous habitation had apparently disappeared; for the huts which they built show no sign of any attempt to make use of earlier foundations. Most of these huts have disappeared for ever, having been cleared away without record by Schliemann. There are, however, remains still to be seen in the sides of the great pillars of untouched earth left standing at various points; they are conspicuous in that on the right of Plate VI. The letter *g* marks a house-wall of III.; and *h* one of IV. The disappearance of this hamlet again left the hill higher by a stratum of remains some 5 or 6 feet in depth. There is no reason to suppose that these settlers ever used or built a protective wall.

With the Fifth Stratum, however, there are clear signs of a renaissance. The few buildings inside the wall, it is true, show no advance in construction or size: they are built, like their predecessors, of small stones united only by clay for mortar, and so far as can be made out formed only small irregular rooms. But these inhabitants at all events built a new fortification wall in a style which was superior to any that had gone before, and is a clear anticipation of the splendid wall of the Sixth Stratum. And this wall was built for a much larger area than that of the Second Stratum. The fragments of it which have been found lie in fact close behind those of the great wall of VI.

These are found in two places. One is the fragment marked V e in square H 7, lying immediately under the building called VI. G. More important pieces are found in squares A 5, 6, and 7, marked V. b, c, and d. They show a sloping wall of squared stones—the slope is practically the same as that of the great wall of VI.—crowned with a vertical parapet of unbaked bricks, of which in one place a fragment remains. In this construction they again agree with the wall of VI. They have, too, fortunately preserved the little set-backs which give them in plan the saw-like outline so characteristic of the great wall. Part of the wall is indeed built of much smaller stones and poorer masonry than that which we associate with the great east wall: but at one or two places large squared stones are used, notably

at the curve in A 5; and in the fragment V e in A 7 the work is good enough to make Dörpfeld doubt whether it may not actually belong to the Sixth Stratum.

It has already been pointed out that lack of proper records makes it impossible to distribute among the different strata the pottery found between the first and the sixth. But three epochs have been distinguished; the first belonging as already recorded, to the first period of the Second Stratum. The second epoch appears to cover the whole of the ages extending from the second period of the Second to the end of the Fourth Stratum. The third epoch may, with all reserve, be attributed to the Fifth Stratum. The pottery is still mainly, as in the lower layers it is exclusively, monochrome, and the continuance of the older technic, though with a gradual advance, shows that the fabric remains purely local. But the ornamentation begins to show traces of foreign influence. The older systems of decoration by bands and geometrical figures, generally incised and filled with white clay, begin to be intermingled with freer forms, drawn with a brush in liquid clay, the beginning of real vase-painting; and realistic natural objects, mainly floral, together with the spirals so characteristic of Mycenaean art, make a rare appearance.

We seem therefore to be justified in seeing in the Fifth Stratum the first appearance of a fresh civilisation: the certain evidence of the wall and the probable evidence of the pottery combine to show

that this is the earliest stage of the castle which grew up in the Mycenaean age, and the full development of which we find in the next stratum. The wall of the Fifth City must, if any, be the wall of that older Troy of which legend may have preserved a dim recollection in the tale of Herakles, and the war in which he had taken and sacked the town of Laomedon.

THE SIXTH STRATUM

We have now come to the most flourishing period of the history of Troy, at least until the Romans made a great memorial city of it. The relics of this stratum are the most striking and important still to be seen. As will be seen from the map, they lie in a ring continuous from the extreme west, round the south and the east up to the north-east corner. As in the Second Stratum, the north-western and northern sides have entirely disappeared. The remains consist of a great outer wall with three main gates and two large flanking towers. Inside these and at a higher level lay a ring of buildings, apparently dwelling-houses, rising from a wide terrace which ran round the whole inner side of the wall so far as it has been excavated. We will follow Dörpfeld, and deal first with the outer wall, then with the gates, next with the towers, and finally with the inner ring of buildings.

THE WALL.—The structure of the wall is best seen on the eastern side, where it stands for a considerable

length to a height of some 20 ft. It is built of squared blocks of masonry of such excellent workmanship that it was difficult at first to attribute it to so early an age as the Mycenaean, and the one small piece of building which was found by Schliemann was, in fact, ascribed by him to Lysimachos. The portion which remains slopes outwards, but at a far steeper angle than the lower portion of the walls of the Second Stratum. In a total height of about 20 feet the foot of the wall advances rather more than 6 feet in front of the upper edge. The wall at the top averages nearly 16 feet in thickness; what it may be below is unknown. On the upper surface of this great base was built a vertical rampart, originally of unburnt bricks. This appears to have had the same thickness as the top of the base, that is between 15 and 16 feet, but according to Dörpfeld it was later superseded by a stone parapet which in some places still remains to a height of 6 to 7 feet with a thickness of 6 to $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The greater strength of the masonry made it possible thus to reduce the superstructure, and leave an inner passage inside the parapet nearly 10 feet wide. It is remarkable that the stones of this superstructure appear to be cut to the same size as the sun-dried bricks which preceded them, so that the architects responsible for the alteration must have been conservative enough to imitate the appearance of the wall which they were superseding.¹

¹ Shown at *d*, Plate x.

PLATE VIII.



THE EASTERN WALL OF STRATUM VI, WITH GATE VI. S.



The wall runs, at least on the south and south-east of the fort, approximately along a circle of about 100 yards radius, which it follows by the straight sides of a polygon, each about 30 feet in length. The most striking feature of this wall is the repetition at each angle of a small set-back. The depth of this set-back is generally from 4 to 6 inches, and only in a few exceptional cases is as much as 1 foot. A similar feature has been observed in various other walls of the Mycenaean and early Hellenic ages, *e.g.* at Tiryns, at Arne in Boeotia, and in the town walls of Samothrace, Phylakopi, and Samicon. In some of these instances the projections are large enough to afford a real flanking protection to the walls. At Troy this is not the case, and the only explanation of this curious construction is to be found in the aesthetic effect of the strong lines of shadow which mark the angles of the polygon.

This characteristic is well seen in Plate VIII., which represents the eastern wall as it appeared immediately after excavation. At *e* is seen some of the débris with which the wall was covered at the destruction of the fortress; on this débris was built the Hellenic wall, of which a portion is shown at *g*. All this overhanging piece has now fallen, and is no longer to be seen. At the back is the gate VI. S, marked with *b*. The large wall *hh* on the right is Roman.

In this long stretch of wall the masonry shows clear evidence of improvement in technical skill. It

would seem that from time to time different portions were rebuilt. The southern part has not yet been excavated; but portions of it have been laid bare, and show that here the work is best,¹ and presumably the restoration most recent. In the eastern wall the stones, though squared, are less carefully worked and jointed. On the west side the masonry is altogether inferior: the wall is built of very imperfectly worked stones, their gaping joints being only roughly filled with splinters and clay. The wall itself is thinner, too: it shows a thickness of only 10 feet as compared with $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet, the average on the eastern side; and the batter of the substructure is more marked. This is the more remarkable because this side is naturally the most exposed to attack from north and west, the points from which an invader would come. For while the whole north face of the hill shows a steep scarp, on the west side a buttress projects, with a nearly level top and a gentle slope to the plain, offering an obvious point for assault.

Dörpfeld has no doubt that this whole line of wall was developed by gradual expansion from the wall of the fifth city, a fragment of which, as has already been mentioned, has been found on the west side in squares A 5 and 6. In his opinion the wall of the sixth city was first built on the west side, immediately in front of that of the fifth, in somewhat better style and on a rather larger scale. Next, the east wall was built, still farther in front of the old wall, which may

¹ The flanking towers will be considered separately.

have stood for a time as the second line of defence at the back of the terrace. Finally the new circuit was completed on the south: the masonry had gradually improved from time to time, and the south wall shows the greatest technical advance. The wall was finally strengthened by the large towers on the east and south side, to which we shall have to refer later.

Dörpfeld also calls attention to the fact that the masonry, and especially the batter of the lower part of the wall, finds its exact counterpart in Egypt in many buildings both of the old and later kingdoms. The resemblance is in some cases so striking as to lead him to suppose that there must be a distinct connexion. It is, of course, quite possible that foreign builders were imported in order to construct these great fortifications.

It must be borne in mind that all this refers only to the substructure of the walls. The real defence lay in the upper parapets, of which hardly anything is left. We can guess only that the original brick rampart, originally some 15 ft. thick, was in all probability not less than this in height. The parapet of hewn stone which replaced it was probably not lower, and may have been considerably higher. No stones have been found to suggest the existence of any distinct cornice or battlement to crown the parapet.

THE GATES.—In so much as remains of the circuit of this wall three large gateways have been found. One of them marked in the map as VI. U lay on the

south-west side in the square A 7. It led up by a slope to the first terrace; the actual position of the gate was a little way east of the opening in the walls, where traces have been found of a stone door-post. This entrance, however, was not in use when the sixth city fell; it had been built up by a short piece of wall marked in the plan with cross lines of red. It seems likely that this was done on the occasion of a siege, in order to relieve the garrison by diminishing the number of points which had to be watched.

A more remarkable gateway lay on the south side in square G 9, and is marked in the plan as VI. T. It was flanked on the west side by a large square tower. The gate itself was about 10 feet wide. The stone pavement still remains; in the middle there ran beneath it a covered drain, of which parts are visible. No traces have been found of any framework of the actual gate.¹ The large tower at the side is a later addition to the wall, the original line of which can still be traced by the slope against which this outwork has been built. The tower contained an inner chamber, inside which lies a foundation the object of which is uncertain; it is not in the centre of the chamber, and can therefore hardly have served to bear a pillar supporting a roof. The most remarkable feature of this gate is to be found in two flat stones set up on end and standing 4 or 5 inches in front of the tower with a slope corresponding to

¹ It may have lain farther inwards, where the earth is still unexcavated.

PLATE IX.



THE GATE VI. S.



that of the wall itself. It is difficult to imagine that these stones had any structural use; it has been suggested that they were more probably religious symbols, a "Jachin and Boaz" protecting the gateway. Their situation and significance, and indeed, all the details of this gateway, are obscured for the uninstructed visitor by a Roman foundation wall which crosses the whole obliquely and makes the plan difficult to understand.

This gate lies almost exactly in the line of the great gateway F O of the second city; it forms the natural approach to the fortress from the plateau beyond. It may be added that the main entrance to the Roman sacred precinct lay also in the same line.

The third gate lay on the east side and is in some ways the most interesting of all. It will be found in the square K 6 marked VI. S. It is formed by an outward bend of the eastern wall from the north overlapping the main circuit wall running from the south. The actual gate lay in the line of this inner wall, stretching across to the inner face of the northern portion, and approached by a passage between the two, bending round almost at right angles. It will be seen that this arrangement exposes the right side of an attacking force in the manner which afterwards became the universal rule in all Greek fortresses. Immediately inside the gate, of which very little is left, are two steps, the beginning of a staircase to the terrace running inside the wall,

about 6 feet above the level of the ground outside the gate.

In Plate IX. the gateway is seen from outside. The wall *hh* on the right must be thought away; it is the intrusive Roman foundation which so often creates confusion. On the left is the main eastern Mycenaean wall *aa*; opposite it stands the cross-wall of the outer gateway, *cc*, and behind it at *d* is the curve which the northern portion of the main wall follows in order to form the approach. The actual gate itself lies out of sight, a little to the left of the man. At *f* is part of the new gate which was formed here in Stratum VII., standing at a much higher level on Mycenaean débris.

It will be observed that the three gates which have been discovered are all within less than half the circuit of the walls. It is natural perhaps that they should lie thus to the S. of the fortress, where the sloping ascent from the plain is easiest, and where they are least exposed to attack by an enemy coming from the sea. On the other hand it is possible, and as we shall see, highly probable, that there was another gateway on the north-west side. This portion of the wall, however, has never been fully uncovered; the excavators themselves, in fact, have made excavation here increasingly difficult, for great amounts of spoil have been heaped up over all these slopes. The existence therefore of a north-western gate is purely conjectural, and may never be positively proved; all traces of the wall in this



TOWER VI. h FROM THE SOUTH.
cc, Southern Wall ; bh, Northern Wall.



direction disappear even in the adjoining region which has been uncovered.¹

THE TOWERS.—Of the three great towers which were added as flanking defences to the original wall we have already noticed one, that which lay by the gateway VI. T. Another is found on the east wall in the squares J 7 and 8, and is marked on the map as VI. h. Here again the fact that the tower is a later addition is clearly proved by the straight joint which connects it with the sloping face of the original wall. It is about 36 feet wide, and projects 26 feet in front of the wall. It is built of well squared stones, and the superiority of the masonry to that of the older wall is obvious at first sight. It is, however, set on inferior foundations, and a serious settlement has made two large cracks in what remains of the south wall.² Holes on the inner face of the side walls clearly show that there was once a floor lying on wooden rafters about 10 feet above the ground level. There is no trace of any staircase leading down to the chamber thus formed; in all probability it was accessible only by a trap-door through the ceiling, and served as a store or treasure chamber. The wooden ceiling was probably covered with a layer of earth, which would bring it up exactly to the top

¹ Much more doubtful is the existence of another gate just to the west of the Water Tower over the northern scarp. Dörpfeld suggests it only on the ground that there seem to be traces of a ramp leading upwards in this direction from the foot of the tower (*f* in Pl. XII.). The position is an extremely unlikely one for the purpose, and the evidence seems very far from convincing.

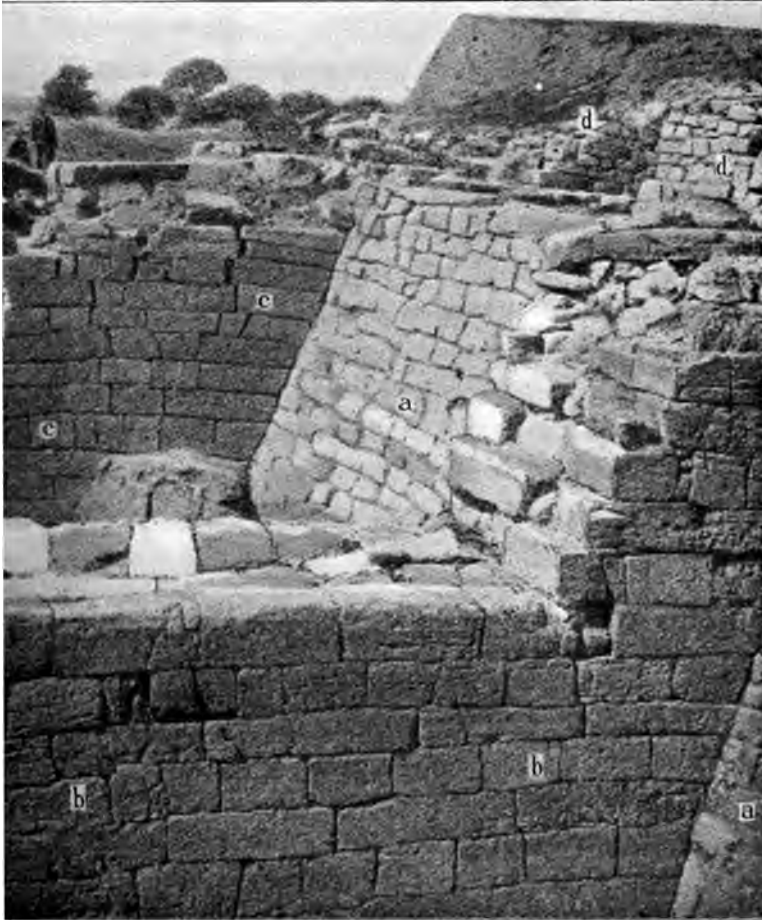
² These are clearly visible in Pl. XI.

level of the stone foundation of the main wall. A large portion of this was included in the area of the first floor chamber of the tower, the chamber being closed at the back by a wall only some 3 feet in thickness,¹ while the width of the town wall itself was here nearly 16 feet. Whether the tower contained yet another chamber on a higher level it is now impossible to say.

The most important of the towers is that at the north-east corner of the citadel—the water tower. The sharp angle at the point where the general line of fortifications turns westward is still one of the most striking objects among the ruins, though the greater portion of the bastion is now concealed from sight by the Roman foundation wall which meets us in so many places and with such disturbing effect. The tower still stands nearly 30 feet in height; its breadth is not far short of 60 feet. At one point on the northern face are still to be seen some of the bricks which formed its original parapet; on this side at least they were not, as in other parts, superseded by stone. In the midst of it is a great well or cistern over 12 feet square, and going down to a depth considerably over 30 feet below the floor level where its mouth lay. It was thus driven into water-bearing strata, and served at once as spring and reservoir, forming no doubt the chief water supply of the garrison. To judge from the line of the main wall it would seem that both well and bastion were a later

¹ Plate x. *c* the space between *c* and *b* formed part of the tower-floor.

PLATE XI.



TOWER VI. h FROM THE N.

aa, Main Fortress Wall ; bb, Northern Wall of Tower ; cc, Southern Wall.



addition on the outside; but, in the absence of any knowledge of the continuation of the wall along the north, it cannot be regarded as certain. The east face of the tower is at all events built well in front of the original curtain, and between the two there lies a small doorway by which access can be gained to the great well from the outside. The recesses in the side walls of this passage for receiving the frame of the door and for the door itself to open into, so that it should not interrupt the passage when thrown back, are still to be seen. Four steps lead downwards from the door to the level of the well mouth. Traces have also been found of another staircase leading upwards from the well to the interior of the city, but most of this has been swept away by the foundations of the great Roman altar which lay directly over this point.

THE HOUSES.—The remaining buildings of the Sixth Stratum are the foundations of houses, apparently all, with one possible exception, dwelling houses built on a very similar and simple plan—a large central hall with a porch formed by the projection of the two side walls for a short distance beyond the front. In one only, the house called VI. M in square C 7, do we find a more elaborate arrangement—three or possibly four rooms being combined into a complex residence. The eastern chamber of this house appears to have been a store room, as it contains a large number of jars sunk in the floor, and traces of a small cross wall may indicate that part of this room

was set aside, perhaps for a kitchen. This is the house of which the retaining wall, in its remarkable preservation, forms a striking feature on the south-west side;¹ the uninstructed visitor, noticing the little set-backs which are so characteristic of the fortification, might naturally take it for a part of the main city wall instead of what it really is, the inner boundary of the encircling terrace. On the east side three houses marked as VI. E, F, and G stand in a similar position, their outer walls forming again the boundary of the terrace. In one case only, that of the house on the west side marked as VI. A, do we find a building standing immediately within the outer circuit itself, and occupying the space which we should expect to find reserved for the great terrace.

The chambers of these houses, though few, are stately in dimensions. The clear inside width of the hall of the building, only partially uncovered, in A-B 5, marked VI. B, is no less than 11·55 metres, nearly 38 feet. The length is not known; but if it were in the same proportion to the breadth as in the neighbouring buildings, it would be as much as 15 metres, 50 feet. It is difficult to believe that roofs to cover such spaces were erected without pillars; but no certain trace of these has been found, save in the building VI. C, to be discussed presently. Nor has there been found any such central hearth² as is familiar both from Mycenae, Tiryns, and the megaron of the

¹ See Pl. XIII. aa.

² Traces of ashes were however found in the building VI. A, and indicate the probable position of such a hearth.

PLATE XII.



THE WATER TOWER.

aa, Mycenaean Wall ; bb, Hellenic Stairs ; cc, dd, Hellenic Bastion ; ee, Roman Foundation Wall ; ff, Mycenaean Ramp (?).



Second Stratum here. But though this feature is wanting there can be no doubt that the type of building is the same, in marked contrast to the "labyrinthine" chambers and passages of the great Cretan palaces, whose latest period was contemporary.

All these houses are disposed on a radial plan with passages between them running directly up towards the centre of the fortress. Sometimes, indeed, and notably in the case of VI. M, the outer side walls are not parallel, but stand obliquely in order to conform more exactly to the radial arrangement, and so to avoid any cramping of the narrow passages leading upwards from the terraces, such as would have been involved in a perfectly rectangular plan. In some cases, *e.g.* in VI. F, this produces a difference of fully half-a-yard in the lengths of the front and back walls.

The houses show remarkable differences in the excellence of their masonry. This is particularly noticeable in the adjacent houses marked VI. E and VI. F on the plan. The contrast between the rough work and imperfectly finished stones of VI. F and the extraordinarily fine masonry of VI. E cannot fail to strike an observer. VI. E is indeed of such excellent work that in Dörpfeld's words "no archaeologist would hold such a wall, had it been found alone, to belong to the Mycenaean period. The almost rectangular stones perfectly polished on the outer side, the fine and hardly visible joints, and the two carefully worked corners remind us of Greek walls of the 5th or 6th century." It appears therefore that

these houses must have been from time to time rebuilt, and that while VI. F dates from one of the earliest periods of the city, VI. E must belong to the latest. The houses thus agree with the walls in proving a continuous growth in technical knowledge and architectural execution. Although the general arrangement of the citadel with its concentric terraces and radial passages leading up to the centre might seem to imply a single idea carried out once and for all, we see that this cannot be the case; the general plan may have been laid down from the first foundation of the fortress, but the constructional detail was subject to continued modification and improvement, probably through a very long period of time.

In one case only have we remains of a building which seems to belong to a second inner concentric ring. It is the building marked VI. C in squares H. 5 and 6. The plan is exactly similar to that of VI. A—a large hall with parastades pointing towards the west. The central part of it has been entirely carried away by Schliemann's N.E. trench, but enough has been spared to prove that this hall had a peculiarity not found in any other buildings of the period. In the central line, at a distance of 4.15 metres from the west wall, lies the basis of a column still standing *in situ*. This implies a line of three columns down the middle. The curious fact that such columns are not elsewhere found has already been pointed out; and this has led Dörpfeld to suggest that VI. C is not an ordinary



THE SOUTHERN WALL AND TERRACE.

aa, Retaining Wall of VI. M. ; bb, Outer Wall ; c, House Wall of VII. 1 ; d, House Wall of VII. 2.

dwelling house, but a temple. It is remarkable that the Greek temple of Neandria, within sight of Troy, is an example of just such an arrangement—a central line of columns lying in the axis of the main doorway. This suggestion, however, is a matter of conjecture; it is evident that the columns may have served a purely architectural purpose. It should, however, be added that there is no trace of a door in the west wall, which is preserved to a greater height than the basis of the column. It must therefore have been necessary to descend from the doorway by two steps. This again is an arrangement also found at Neandria.¹

THE WELLS.—In addition to the great cistern well in the water tower, two other interesting wells have been found, both belonging to this period. One of them lay in the centre of the broad terrace behind the eastern wall, immediately between that wall and the house VI. F. It will be found marked on the map in square J 7 with the letters Bc. It has been followed to a depth of more than 30 feet below the level of the terrace; the first 14 feet were faced with masonry, and the lower part was cut through the living rock. The excavators cleared it out to this

¹ The axial arrangement of columns has also been found in the most ancient Orthia temple at Sparta (*Annual of B.S.A.* xiv. p. 20), and later instances of it are the temples of Apollo at Thermos (Springer, *Handb. d. Kunstgesch.* i. 133, fig. 254), the temple at Locri (*ibid.* p. 126, fig. 238) and the "Basilica" at Paestum (*ibid.* p. 127, fig. 241). The evidence is, however, far too scanty to enable us to say that this construction is characteristic of temples in the Mycenaean age, if such there were at all. They were apparently unknown in Minoan Crete. In place of them have been found the holy chamber or shrine of the Palace of Knossos—a small inner room; and the open temenos at Gournia, only 12 feet square, surrounded by no more than a wall some 18 inches high.

depth without finding the bottom of the accumulations which had collected in it; further progress was rendered impossible owing to the danger of falling stones from the upper masonry. There can be little doubt that it penetrated into the water-bearing strata which extend all over the hill. We shall find it still in use in the next period. Another well in the middle of square J 4, marked Ba, is an even more remarkable work. It is not certain, though probable, that it was already sunk in the period of the sixth city, and it will therefore be dealt with later on.

What lay inside the concentric ring which we have traced, it is now impossible to say. It has been already pointed out that the whole of this interior area was cleared away by the Hellenistic or Roman builders when they levelled the temple precinct. There can be little doubt that this was the site of the actual palace, the chief building of the whole fortress, but we cannot even conjecture what the plan of this palace may have been, or what other buildings may have stood near it.

The whole fortress was completely destroyed by an enemy. Traces of fire are indeed not nearly so universal as in the second city, chiefly perhaps because the walls were mostly constructed of stone, and therefore left less evidence behind them than those of clay and timber, which were perpetuated rather than destroyed by the fire in the second city. But clearer evidence of an enemy's hand is

found in the levelling of the upper portion of the city wall, and of all the walls of the houses within. We shall see in the next period that those who settled on the site after the destruction were ignorant even of the foundations above which they were building, covered as these were from sight by a layer of débris. The city must, moreover, have been completely plundered, for it is as remarkably poor in small objects of value as the second city is rich.

There is, however, fully sufficient proof in the sherds found in this stratum to show that the buildings belonged to the Mycenaean epoch, and to the latest period of it. The pottery is clearly of double origin—partly imported ware, showing characteristic Mycenaean shapes and decoration—partly home-made pottery, continuing the tradition of the grey monochrome fabric found from the very beginning of the history of the settlement, but modified by the partial and not always skilful adoption of Mycenaean shapes and ornament. The native ware still forms by far the larger portion of the whole; but the occurrence of the Mycenaean fragments and motives amply justifies us in co-ordinating the Sixth Stratum with the period known in Greece as Late Mycenaean, and in Crete as Late Minoan iii. We may therefore say with confidence that the Sixth Stratum flourished during the second half of the second millennium, say from 1500 to 1200 or 1100 B.C.

THE SEVENTH STRATUM

The Seventh Stratum offers perhaps the most difficult, and in many ways the most interesting, of the many problems of Troy town. It is properly described as a single stratum, for it all lies on one level; but it is divided into two periods showing as marked a contrast as can be found in the whole history of the settlement.

Generally speaking, the architectural remains consist almost entirely of rather poor house walls. After these were planned, they were adapted and added to, the original ground level being preserved. But the objects found in them, especially the pottery, show that between those who planned and those who adapted there was a complete difference of culture. These two periods must therefore be kept carefully apart. We shall speak of them as VII. 1 and VII. 2.

The Mycenaean fortress of the Sixth Stratum was thoroughly destroyed, as we have seen, by deliberate razing, through human agency. The good stone Mycenaean walls, unlike the older clay and wood structures, formed an effectual barrier against a general conflagration; and though traces of fire are found in places, it is evident that the work of destruction was carried out by overthrowing the walls "with axes and hammers." So far as the houses themselves were concerned, the razing must have been fairly complete. The great outer walls, however, were too solid to be wholly razed. The conquerors

apparently contented themselves with throwing down the upper ramparts, leaving the great substructures much as we see them now. The débris thrown over the sides has in fact saved the lower part of the walls, and has preserved the edges and joints as sharp to-day as they were at the first building. It is often possible to tell just how far the walls were covered up from the weathering which has turned the ashlar stones of the upper exposed courses into shapeless rounded lumps.

Some part even of the upper ramparts must have been left standing; for those who returned to the citadel after the disaster built themselves houses against the walls, which they presumably repaired so that they were capable of some defence. How long it may have been before the waste place was reoccupied we have no means of saying. But the new settlers must have been a feeble folk. So far as we can tell, they settled only in the great terrace which ran all round the hill just within the outer wall. The plans given herewith will show clearly the nature of the buildings (Figs. 5, 6, and 7). It will be seen that the houses consisted of chambers divided by party walls. Some of them appear to have been open in front, some were divided by an internal cross wall into a closed chamber and an open entrance-hall in the old style; others again were closed by an outer cross-wall. The quantity of great jars sunk in the floors is very striking. The general effect is that of a place of refuge in a time of sudden

raids, where store chambers were kept to serve for a short siege. The open chambers may have been stalls for flocks and herds.

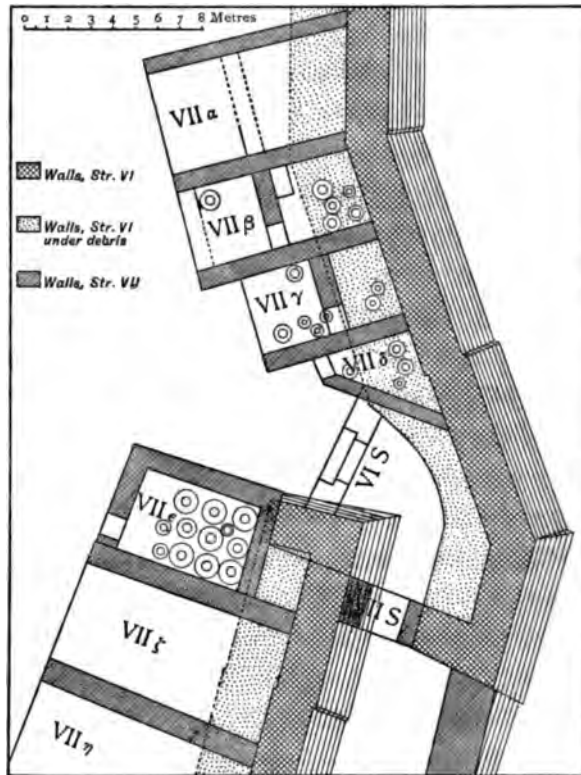


FIG. 5.—Houses of Stratum VII. 1, near the East Gate.

In two cases only is there evidence of a second concentric ring of such houses (Fig. 7, VII. σ , and VII. ν). The latter house is built against the return of the inner terrace wall of VI.: the former seems to have stood free—the only instance of such a method of building.

It will be seen that though its walls run very nearly on the lines of those of the older Mycenaean house VI. A, they do not take advantage of the still existing foundations. This is good evidence that the house

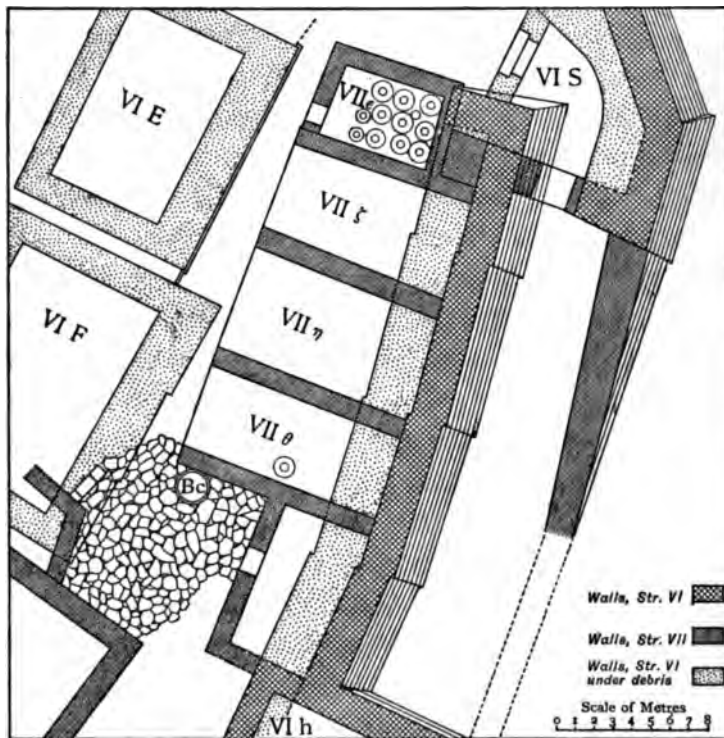


FIG. 6.—Houses of Stratum VII. 1.

had been completely razed to the ground—so completely that the very existence of its foundations was unsuspected under the mass of débris.

The best piece of work belonging to this stratum is the paved terrace seen in Fig. 6. It is evidently

made for the sake of the well marked Bc. This is the old Mycenaean well, now lying below the new ground level, but adapted for use by fitting to its top two great jars with their lower parts taken off. These raised the lip to the new level, where the

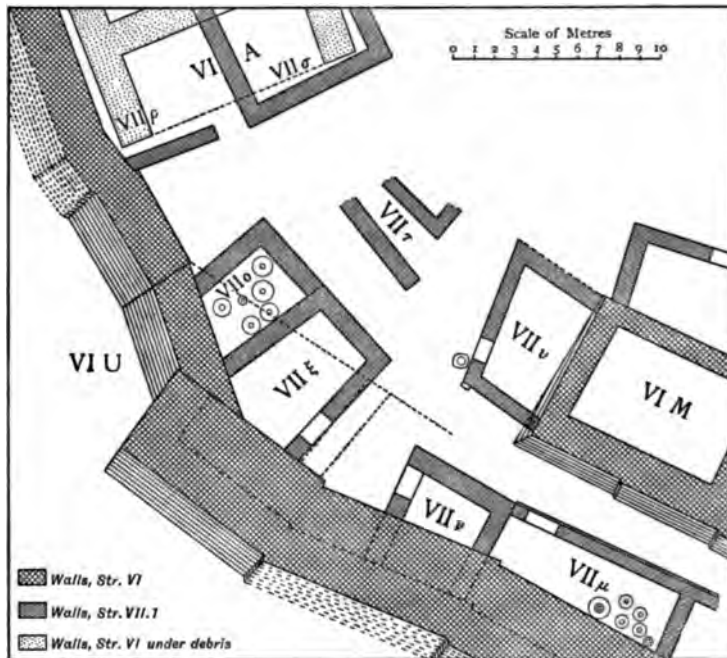


FIG. 7.—Houses of Stratum VII. 1, near the S.-W. Gate.

mouth was surrounded by a stone pavement of such excellent work that the excavators at first took it to belong to Stratum VI. But the question was definitely settled in favour of VII. as soon as it was found that the pavement partly extended over the foundations of VI. F.

The walls of VII. 1 are constructed almost entirely of squared stones, evidently taken from the débris of VI. There is little that is characteristic architecturally. The pottery associated with the buildings is of the same Mycenaean type, intermingled with the local monochrome ware which is characteristic of all the earlier strata. It would seem, therefore, that the reoccupation was due to the native population, greatly reduced in numbers and strength, but not differing in culture from their predecessors. This is consistent with the legend that Aeneas and his descendants ruled in the Troad after the fall of the city, though their chief town was inland. The legend is as old as Homer,¹ and has some confirmation in local tradition.

THE SEVENTH STRATUM—SECOND PERIOD.

The new walls of VII. 2 can at once be distinguished from the older of VII. 1 by a very obvious mark. The foundations on which they stand are formed not, as in all the other strata, by blocks of stone laid horizontally, but by comparatively thin slabs of irregular shape standing on edge. This peculiarity, when it has once been observed, is very noticeable. It can be seen under the letter d in Pl. XIII.

The plan of the adapted houses, too, is essentially different from that of their predecessors. Instead of the single chambers opening only at one end, either directly into the air or into an entrance hall of

¹ *Il.* xx. 302-8.

considerable depth, we now find that by a system of side doors through existing walls, and by extensive additions, houses have been formed of a number of chambers opening into one another, and grouped, as it would seem, round a central court. This can be sufficiently made out in the walls coloured green on the large plan, in squares J 6 and 7. No such design has been found in any of the earlier strata, and it seems to point to the arrival of a race with different ideas.

Other changes, too, were made. The gateway VI. S in square K 6, which we learnt to know in the Sixth Stratum, had still been in use in VII. 1. The old entrance, it is true, was hidden under the mass of debris from the walls; but a new one had been formed at a higher level;¹ traces of the wooden jambs which lined it were visible when it was excavated. Fig. 5 shows how an oblique wall (VII. δ) had been built just north of it so as to form a small triangular chamber without interfering with the entrance. But in VII. 2 this gate was entirely closed, as is to be seen on the large plan, by new house walls. It may have been at this time that an outer wall was built, joining the N.E. angle of the tower VI. h to the projecting corner of the Mycenaean wall forming the eastern side of VI. S; but the date of this addition is uncertain. In any case the passage thus formed was at this time filled with small chambers, the access to which is unknown. These cross-walls are shown on

¹ See Plate IX., *f*.

the plan, but are not now in existence; it was necessary to remove them in order to clear the great wall. Other similar buildings will be found also in J 8. It is probable that the whole hill inside the fortification may once have been covered by such houses: there is no evidence to show that the main wall itself was maintained in a state fit for defence.

Now who are likely to have been the builders in this new fashion? For all we can tell, they may have been Greeks. Foundations on these "orthostatae" are well known in Greece: "the method was already familiar in the palaces of the Mycenaean period"—I quote Dörpfeld's words (p. 200)—"and was used later in all Greek temples from the earliest to the latest." It has not yet been found elsewhere. Hence Dörpfeld is inclined to regard the builders of VII. 2, at least, as Greek settlers. It is possible, indeed, that the builders of VII. 1 may have been Greeks as well, and that the change in construction does not imply a change of race, but only the introduction of a new architectural style.

But when we come to the objects found in the houses of VII. 2, the case is different. The pottery falls at once into two classes. First there is ware of the "early geometrical" type which succeeded the Mycenaean on the Greek mainland. So far we might be inclined to conclude in favour of Greek settlers. But with this ware is found other of a completely different sort. It is of the rudest manu-

facture, made by hand and not on the wheel, and is known as "knob-ware," *Buckelkeramik*, from the curious knobs which form its characteristic decoration. It is in fact a more barbarous fabric than had been used on the hill of Hissarlik since the days of the first stratum.

With this primitive ware occur also a number of metal objects of types equally strange to Troy and Greece. Among these are axes, hammers, chisels, needles, and rings of highly characteristic form.

There can be no doubt as to the district where these objects were at home. They are typically Central European, and are found in numbers in the middle and lower valley of the Danube. They must belong to some tribe which had come from the distant north.

Tradition has preserved the record of an inroad which exactly accounts for these finds. The famous invasion of Asia Minor by the Kimmerians must have swept through the Troad, and Strabo repeatedly speaks of a Thracian tribe, the Treres or Trares, as having joined with the Kimmerians, and for a time settled in the Troad after the days of Priam. In the time of Thucydides the Treres were still in Thrace, living in the region of modern Bulgaria. The invaders may probably have consisted only of the more active spirits who left the bulk of the tribe behind them; just as we find Thyni in Asia Minor as well as in Thrace, and Mysians in the south as well as Moesians in the north. Bithynia itself is evidence of a Thracian

invasion across the Bosphorus after the date of the Homeric Catalogue; and there can be no question that in the course of the eighth century there took place one of the great tribal movements southward which have so often overflowed both sides of the Aegean. It appears to have continued for a considerable time: Strabo speaks of more than one disaster suffered by the Ionian towns, and there was, no doubt, time for a lengthened settlement on the hill of Troy.

One curious piece of evidence shows that this occupation of the hill was more than a brief raid. Amongst the objects found was a lump of clay, said to be something like a large ocarina with a hole at one end. Its use was a puzzle till it was carefully sawn in half. It was then seen at once that it was a mould, evidently made by the *cire perdue* process, but never used for the actual casting. And the object it was designed to make was a battle-axe of unmistakably Danubian type. The invaders therefore were metal workers who had established their own foundry for arms in the town.

But we are still in doubt as to their relations to the architectural remains. Did they build the houses of VII. 2 in the Greek style? It is possible, but hardly seems likely. Was there then a Greek settlement previous to that we shall have to deal with as Stratum VIII.? In that case, did the Treres expel the Greek settlers, and occupy their houses? Or did they build themselves perishable huts after

the barbarian fashion, whose wattle and daub has disappeared without leaving a trace?

THE EIGHTH STRATUM

Here we pass at last into the region of history. The Eighth Stratum represents the Greek settlement from the date of its foundation by the Aeolian colonists till it was taken over by the Romans, to be glorified as the home of their race.

The architectural remains are of the scantiest. This is not to be wondered at when we remember that all the buildings were on the surface when the Romans levelled the top of the hill, and turned it into a sacred precinct, founding a large town on the plateau to the eastward. The whole of the hill-top was cleared away, and what few relics of the settlement are left lie on the extreme margin. They consist, in fact, almost entirely of remains of an outer wall of very poor construction. These are found in two places, on the west and east sides, as shown by the yellow colour on the large plan. But even of what is there marked the greater part has been removed in the course of excavation, in order to uncover older work.

Of what is still to be seen by far the most conspicuous and interesting is the staircase at the extreme N.E. corner.¹ The great well in the centre of the Water Tower of the Mycenaean fortress had

¹ See Plate XII., *b*.

continued in use during both periods of VII., for the levels show that in VII. 2 a circular wall was built round the mouth in order to raise it to the required height. But after the ruin of the houses of VII. 2 the mouth was covered up with débris, among which were found sherds of fine geometrical pottery, Greek work which can be confidently dated about 700 B.C. This gives us a date consistent with legends of the founding of the Aeolic colony, and may be taken to represent the *terminus a quo* of historical Greek occupation. At the same time it offers a reason for the construction of the staircase. The Greek inhabitants knew nothing of this well, nor indeed of the other a little farther south called Bc: this, too, lay hidden under débris. In order to obtain water they therefore made use of a well outside the old fortification, marked Bh, just at the foot of the N.E. bastion. For the sake of secure access to this in time of siege, they built outside the old wall a new bastion enclosing both the well and the staircase which led to it from the inside.¹ The period at which the staircase was made is established clearly by the fact that the steps are continued to a height considerably above the ground level of VII., while on the other hand they are covered by the Roman work of IX.

Farther south, in J and K 6 and 7, are other remains of the Greek wall. The old Mycenaean wall at this time was almost completely hidden under débris: only a few courses of the upper part stood

¹ See Plate XII., c, d.

free, and, as may still be seen, these were so weathered that they could hardly be recognised as part of what was once a piece of splendid ashlar masonry. They served, however, as a core which could be strengthened by additions. The Greeks accordingly added to the thickness both in front and behind, forming a new wall nearly 20 feet through. The outer facing stood only on débris: a part of it in K 7 was uncovered and left with some of its loose foundation hanging precariously on the face of the Mycenaean masonry; but this has since fallen.¹ On the inner side the stones filled up part of the space enclosed by the still remaining lower portions of the house walls of VII. A returning angle was built across the space of what once had been the gateway VI. S, but this has now been removed.

On the S.W. side will be seen in squares A 6 and 7 similar additions in front of the Mycenaean wall, including a round tower built in front of the old gateway VI. U. Inside lie some remains of house walls, but too little to allow of any systematic restoration of a plan.

All these walls are of very poor construction. They are made either with old blocks from earlier buildings or small unworked stones. There is nothing in them to suggest Greek work, or to afford any criterion as to date. It is probable that the repairs of the old walls may have extended over many different parts of the long period between the barbarian occupa-

¹ See Plate VIII., *g*.

tion in the eighth century and the Roman revival about the Christian era. This is suggested by the different depths of débris covering the level of the remains of VII. But for the pottery, hesitation might have been felt in attributing such poor work to Greeks at all.

This state of things accords well with what we hear, at rare intervals, of the state of the place throughout this period. The time for inland cities in the district had gone by; the important colonies were on the coast. The Athenians and Mitylenaeans fought hard for Sigeum, and took the stones of the unhappy Ilian walls to build the new city. Other settlements were made at Aeanteum and Rhoeteum in the immediate neighbourhood, and a little higher up Abydos grew to be an important harbour. But Ilium was worthless. The walls were indeed repaired, and seem to have invited capture; for a long time we hear of nothing but the misfortunes of the town; Ἰλίου ἐπὶ κακά became a proverb. It seems to have been too unimportant to appear in the Attic tribute-lists. We have already seen that when Demetrius of Scepsis visited it as a young man, probably about 180 B.C., it was no more than a *κομμόπολις*, as much a village as a town, and its houses had not even tiled roofs, being built, no doubt, in the peasant style with flat roofs of clay. With all this the remains are in perfect accord.

But through all this period of poverty and misfortune, the Trojans had one treasure, the famous

temple of their patroness Athena. This was reputed to be the very building whither the matrons of Troy had carried their richest garments to lay them on the knees of the goddess, as Homer tells us; and in it were preserved the veritable arms of some of the heroes of the Trojan War. Two pilgrimages to it have become famous in history, and prove that the reputation of the temple was world-wide. The first is that of Xerxes, on the eve of the great invasion of Greece, and the crossing of the Hellespont at Abydos: the second is that of Alexander, on the eve of the great invasion of Persia, while Parmenion was bringing his army across from Sestos. And through all, or nearly all, this time Locris was sending its annual tribute of maidens, of which we shall have more to say presently. The history of the temple is continuous from very early ages: the town or village of Troy was living on its legendary fame and the worship of Athena.

Of the temple literally not one stone remains upon another; but Dörpfeld has proved where it stood by one of his most brilliant pieces of deduction. There is no question as to the site of the Roman temple which followed it. The lines of the foundation are marked in blue in the squares G 4 and H 4. They are now no more than lines: the whole of the foundation stones have been removed. The foundations themselves are, however, curious. The soil here to a great depth is the accumulated débris of many centuries. The architect of the temple, not being

able to dig down to the solid rock, formed his foundation by cutting a deep trench, and filling it to a depth of several feet with good sand beaten hard and levelled, thus forming a footing on which his foundation stones lay safely. The method is one which is still occasionally employed under similar circumstances. Every one of these foundation stones has been removed. But at the east end an addition has been made, in the form of a flight of steps. The foundations of this addition have been left *in situ*, while the main foundations, though at a lower level, have been carried off. Why did the stone-plunderers leave the more accessible and take what cost more labour to extract?

The local limestone is of two sorts. One is hard and durable; the other is soft and easily quarried, but soon decays when exposed to the air, though sufficiently lasting when covered up. The latter was used for the foundation of all the Roman¹ buildings which have yet been found, including those of the steps at the end of the temple. If the stones from the main foundation were taken, while the soft limestone under the steps was left, it must have been because they were of the hard stone, and therefore serviceable for building. Therefore they were not laid by Romans, but by Greeks. It follows that the

¹ Dr. Dörpfeld tells me that he has since found similar soft stone used for foundations of buildings at Pergamon dating from the end of the Pergamene kingdom. It is therefore possible that it may have been used at Ilion before Roman days, when the Troad formed part of the dominions of Pergamon.

foundation trench is that of the pre-Roman temple, and that the Romans rebuilt exactly on the old foundations. When this pre-Roman temple was built it is, in the scantiness of remains which can confidently be referred to it, impossible to say.

It is, however, not probable that this was the actual temple to which Alexander made his pilgrimage. His visit at all events brought the town much honour and probably new adornments, though it is doubtful whether its material prosperity was very largely increased. Alexander expressed great gratitude for the assistance which the goddess gave him in his career of victory, and intended to make of Troy a great and wealthy town. It appears, however, that he died before his good intentions were carried out in their entirety. But he gave the town autonomy and relief from taxation; of the increased dignity which followed upon this, we have evidence in the series of coins which the town now struck, and in inscriptions which prove that the sanctuary of Athena became the centre of a religious league of the neighbouring towns. But shortly after the death of Alexander, Antigonos was engaged in the foundation of a great town called Antigonía, afterwards famous as Alexandria Troas, and it is not likely that Troy increased much in size in the presence of so serious a rival, however honourable may have been the religious primacy of the temple.

According to the common story it was Lysimachos who, after the fall of Antigonos at the battle of

Ipsos, carried out the designs of Alexander, and made Troy not merely a religious centre but a great town. Serious doubt, however, has been cast by Grote upon the passage of Strabo which tells this story. It occurs in a passage (xiii. 1. 26) which contains also an account of Lysimachos's efforts on behalf of Alexandria, as he renamed the Antigonía of his fallen predecessor; and Grote¹ has raised the question whether the words, which as the text stands refer to Troy, are not really meant for Alexandria—"after his death Lysimachos devoted great attention to the city, built a temple and a wall round it of some 40 stades, and settled in it the ancient towns around, which had already fallen into decrepitude." The passage then goes on to describe how Alexandria through his fostering care grew up, until in Strabo's time it was a Roman colony and one of the famous cities of the world. Grote urges with much force that it was to Alexandria that the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities were transferred, and not to Troy; nor is it at all likely that Troy could ever have had a wall of 40 stades—5 English miles—in circumference. He therefore boldly assumes that the text has been dislocated, and that the wall, the temple, and the colonisation all refer to Alexandria, and are meant to contrast its importance with the neglected Ilium.²

These doubts of Grote are supported by Dörpfeld. He points out that 40 stades is in fact almost exactly the length of the circuit walls of Alexandria Troas.

¹ *Hist. of Greece*, part i. ch. xv.

² See Appendix B.

Even the Roman Troy, fostered though it was for sentimental reasons, never attained more than a quarter of the area of Alexandria. Strabo himself tells us too, that the Gauls who came to Troy very soon after the time of Lysimachos found the town without a wall; nor is there any trace whatever of foundations for such a wall. If Grote and Dörpfeld are right, therefore, the whole story of the adornment and enlargement of Troy by Lysimachos falls to the ground, and we can only say that the Greek temple with its accompaniment of a sacred league and religious games—conducted, be it noted, not by the town of Troy itself but by the league as a whole—dates from somewhere about this time. Troy in fact must be regarded as a sacred precinct with many privileges, attracting a number of inhabitants dependent on the temple and its surroundings, but not in any way as a great or important town. The inscriptions which give us scanty information in the following centuries refer almost entirely to honorific gifts from the successive kings of the country, Seleucus, Antiochus I. and II., Attalus, and the Pergamene dynasty; or else to the religious rites and privileges of the town. Troy played no part in the wars when the Romans came, and as soon as new conquerors had won firm footing in the land, one of their first acts was to enlarge the territory of the city from which they traced their own descent. Indeed the express statement of Livy,¹ that the Romans added to the

¹ xxxviii. 39. Cf. Strabo xiii. 1. 39.

territory of Ilium the towns of Sigeum, Rhoeteum and Gergis is in itself sufficient proof that there had been no such addition in the time of Lysimachos.

This brief prosperity, however, was soon followed by disaster. Mithridates for a time took possession of Troy, which was thus forced into conflict with Rome. In 89 B.C. the unutterable ruffian Fimbria, out of pure delight in plunder and bloodshed, sacked the town and slaughtered its inhabitants. When he bragged that he had taken in ten days the city which had cost Agamemnon ten years, the historical repartee was, "but then we had not Hector to defend it." Had the Trojan who made the answer known what lay beneath his feet, he might have added with even more truth, "we had not Priam's walls."

THE NINTH STRATUM

The remains of the Roman city need not detain us long. The blue colour on the plan will indicate the chief remains. No trace will now be found of the temple of Athena; it has already been explained how even the foundations have been carried away, and the earth is now excavated down to the level of the second city. But the small theatre or council house in squares H and J 8 and 9 is still a conspicuous object; the closely related wall of unknown significance which crosses the gate VI. T has already been mentioned, and all along the east wall of the sixth city we have been very conscious of the

existence of the great foundation wall built of ashlar blocks with conspicuous masons' marks on many of the stones. This, as will be seen from the plan, formed the foundation for a precinct wall surrounding the whole of the temple area, and provided, no doubt, with halls and porticos such as that of which the remains can still be seen in squares K 4 and 5. The entrance to this precinct lay almost exactly over the approach to the gateway F O of the second city, and in the line of the gateway VI. T. The general design has been made out by Dörpfeld but need not delay us here. It is possible that the double wall which has been traced through the great column of earth left standing in E 6 may mark another entrance, but this is quite uncertain; nor can anything be made out as to the destination of the buildings outside the precinct marked IX. A and IX. B. All these Roman edifices lay on the surface, and have been plundered for building stones by the inhabitants of the country for 1500 years. It is not surprising, therefore, that the remains are comparatively scanty. But numerous fragments, drums, capitals, architrave blocks, triglyphs, metopes and others, some of them scattered on the spot, others in cemeteries of the neighbouring villages, have made it possible to restore the main features of the Roman temple.

The architrave bore a double inscription. One of these was in poorly cut letters between five and six inches high; the other is recognisable only from holes in the same stone serving for the attachment of

metal letters. What the relation between the two inscriptions is remains doubtful; according to Dörpfeld the more stately metal letters were the older, and the poorer incised inscription dates from some later restoration. Nor is there enough left to restore the whole of either, but it seems tolerably certain that one was a verbal repetition of the other, and that both refer to a building or restoration of the temple by Augustus. The older building was beyond question gravely injured, if not entirely destroyed, by Fimbria; how far the work of Augustus implied complete reconstruction the remains do not allow us to say.

Immediately to the east of the temple lay a stone pavement, evidently designed to receive a marble coating which has since entirely disappeared. This led up to a great altar lying almost over the well in the water tower, but too little of this is preserved to enable even an approximate reconstruction to be made. Between the altar and the temple, and almost exactly in the main axis of the latter, lay the curious well Ba, which has been already mentioned, and with which we shall have to deal again when we come to the history of the Locrian maidens. The well itself may have possibly been sunk in pre-Hellenic times. It consists of a shaft walled with masonry to a depth of 13 metres (43 feet) and continued below for a farther 1.50 metres (5 feet) into the solid rock. Over the top was a lantern or well-head built, probably, in the time of Hadrian. On a circular foundation

of three steps stood six square pillars about 4 feet in height, and enclosing a circular space of about the same diameter. The intervals between the pillars were enclosed up to half their height by curved slabs of marble, the upper portions by an open marble lattice-work, and the whole was roofed over. The access, therefore, to the well was not from above, but by a subterranean passage from the north 7 feet in height. The ceiling lay about 3 feet below the floor level of the pavement. With the meaning of this curious arrangement we shall deal later on. Whatever the date of the well, it would seem that the circular well-cover was meant to mark it out as a spot of a special religious significance, and it certainly must have been a venerable antiquity when the later Roman building was raised over it.

The end of the Roman civil wars marked the beginning of a new era of prosperity for Troy. To the veneration of the Romans for the town of their national ancestors was added the particular honour paid by the Julian family, who traced their name, it is hardly necessary to say, from Iulus, the son of the Trojan Aeneas. The visit of Julius Caesar to Troy is really the starting point of the new epoch; it is needless to do more than refer generally to Lucan's famous description of it.¹ The Romans for many generations fostered the town with privileges fiscal and religious, and made of it what it had never

¹ *Phars.* ix. 961. Lucan's picture of utter desolation, if it is not mere rhetoric, shows the disastrous result of Fimbria's brutal ravages.

been in all its past history, a really large city. The old site of Hissarlik became merely the sacred acropolis; the city itself spread far over the plateau to the north-east. This district has never yet been properly excavated, but the abundant remains found on the surface prove the extent of ground which it covered. Stories were afloat that first Julius and afterwards Augustus had even contemplated making it the capital of the whole Roman Empire. It became a place of pilgrimage for countless travellers; numerous ciceroni pointed out every site mentioned in the *Iliad*, to say nothing of the rock to which Cassandra was bound, and the anvil to which Zeus had fastened the rebellious Hera. Political revolutions seem to have had little effect on the holy place. Nero extended the privileges of the town; Hadrian visited it in 124 and doubtless left traces of his visit in new buildings; Antoninus Pius confirmed its privileges, and Marcus Aurelius appears to have instituted new and splendid religious games. Caracalla in 214 figured as a new Alexander, running around the heroic tumuli and setting up a great bronze statue of Achilles. Constantine the Great actually began to build his Constantinople in the Trojan plain before he finally decided to transfer it to Byzantium. In 355 Julian the Apostate not only visited the town, but, as we learn from an imperial epistle, was shown the sights of it by the Christian Bishop Pegasios. The altars were still burning, and in reply to the Emperor's question why the Ilians

still sacrificed to Hector, the broad-minded bishop replied, "why should they not venerate a great man of their own country as we venerate the martyrs?" He took the Emperor, too, into the temple of Athena and showed him all the old monuments carefully preserved.

The name of Ilion as a bishopric lasted for several centuries longer, but there is no later mention of the town as a place either of habitation or worship, and it is probable that with the decay of its sacred character before the advance of Christianity it soon became desolate. There was never even a village, much less a town, on the site for many hundreds of years before Calvert and Schliemann began to excavate, and the earliest travellers whose account we have, found only a grassy hillock grazed over by the herds of the poor neighbouring villages.

THE LOCRIAN MAIDENS

We must not quit the ruins of Troy without turning our attention to one slender thread which appears to have linked the site for many centuries to a small district of historical Greece, and which we can trace back to the verge of the prehistoric age. To what real event or remote superstition it would ultimately lead us, could we follow the clue a little further, must be left uncertain. But if we are to regard the war of Troy as a reality, we must be prepared to admit that it may have afforded, in some

violation of a Trojan temple, the ground for the willingness, and it would seem even the pride, with which a grievous burden was borne for centuries by a few noble Greek families. The whole story is a curious one, and throws a somewhat lurid side-light on Greek religion, which, as we have learnt from many sources, contained much which it is hard to reconcile with the radiant mythology of Olympus. It is, perhaps, all the more important because it is not Homeric, and is free from suspicion of a merely literary origin.

Let us turn back for a moment to the well Ba. We have seen that it was surmounted by a Roman lantern lying almost in the axis of the main temple. When the excavators first examined the remains of it, which were much scattered, they assumed, naturally enough, that out of the six sides of this well-head one had, for the sake of access, been left open, while the other five had clearly been closed by a marble breastwork. But they finally satisfied themselves that this was not the case: traces of the breastwork were found on all the stones of the basis, so that the well could not be approached at all from the surface of the ground, and the only access was by the underground passage leading from the north, and opening into the side. This curious and indeed unique arrangement completely puzzled them, till Brückner was led by his historical inquiries to suggest as the explanation of it the story of the Locrian Maidens. The story given in Lycophron and his scholiasts, and supple-

mented by various other authors, whose text will be found set out fully in App. C, is as follows.¹

During the wild scenes of carnage which followed the capture of Troy, Aias the Locrian, the son of Oileus, entered the temple of Athena, and there found Cassandra the daughter of Priam clinging to the image of the goddess, the Palladium itself. He had the incredible insolence to drag her away, doing outrage to the honour alike of the maiden and the Maiden Goddess. Horrified at this awful sacrilege, the other Greeks turned upon the offender, and would have stoned him to death, but that he took refuge himself with the Palladium, and vowed that he would expiate his crime. On the voyage home from Troy he lost his life by shipwreck on the Gyraean Rocks, without having fulfilled his vow. The wrath of the goddess, therefore, fell upon his land, which was cursed with famine and pestilence. The Locrians inquired the reason at the oracle of the god, and were told that they would have no relief till they propitiated Athena; and they must propitiate her by sending to her temple at Troy two maidens every year, for a thousand years; or, according to another version, "till the goddess was appeased." But the term of a thousand years was generally accepted.

So far is legend only; but the fulfilment is, as we shall see, perfectly historical. It was carried out as follows. The noble houses of Locris, the Hundred

¹ See particularly the discussion by Brückner in *Iliou und Troja*, 554 ff., the basis for any inquiry into the historical significance of the rite.

Houses as they were called, undertook the burden as an obligation of their nobility. They chose from among their maidens by lot two every year, who were sent by ship and landed at night on the promontory of Rhoeteum. They were accompanied by men of Locris who knew the country, and under whose guidance they had to gain the sanctuary of Athena, unobserved if possible. For until they had entered the sacred precinct, their lives were at the mercy of any Trojan who happened to meet them. The Trojans turned out with stones, axes, or any weapon that lay handy: any one who killed them was rewarded with public approbation; the body of the victim was treated as a defilement to the land, burnt on a heap of unfruitful wood, and cast into the sea. And another girl, moreover, had to be sent to take her place.¹

Those who succeeded in running the gauntlet and reached Troy had to find their way by secret passages to the sanctuary. When they had gained it, though their lives were safe, their hair was shorn, they were clothed in the single garment of the slave, they went barefoot, and spent their days in the menial service of the temple. They were not even worthy to come into the sight of the goddess: they might neither enter the temple nor leave the precinct, except by

¹ All this seems to be a ceremonial dramatisation of the flight of Aias to the Palladium to escape the stoning of the angry Greeks—a sort of “mystery play” in grim earnest. The words of Aeneas Tacticus show that the Trojans really tried to keep the girls out, so that there can be no question of a mere ritual pretence such as is assumed by Valeton (*Mnemosyne*, xi. p. 20, “Ilienses virginibus specie insidiabantur velut eas interfecturi”).

night; and under these degrading conditions they had to sweep and wash the sanctuary.

So far all our authorities are agreed: there can be no doubt that this strange custom was actually carried out. But on one important point there is some want of clearness. Did their imprisonment as temple-slaves last throughout their lives? If so, they must have multiplied till there was a collection of something like a hundred of them—perhaps more, if we are to believe one of the statements in the scholia on Lycophron, that at one time the Locrians actually sent the maidens in the form of babies in arms.¹ Such a number is not *a priori* incredible: a large number of slaves naturally added to the glory of a temple, and Troy would no doubt be glad of such a sight to show the pilgrims on whom it largely depended.

The words of Lycophron himself, the “girls cut off from wedlock” (1145), “kept till old age unmarried” (1154), certainly seem at first sight to require this interpretation. On the other hand one fragment of Aelian speaks of a time when “those who were sent grew old in Troy, their successors not arriving” through the Locrians’ neglect of their vow.² So too the quotation from Timaeus in the scholion on Lyc.

¹ Ἐρέτη ἐνιαύσια μετὰ τῶν τροφῶν αὐτῶν. Scheer reads τὰ Ἐρέτη ἐνιαύσια, “the infants yearly,” but the whole sense of the passage imperatively calls for the omission of the article. Probably the whole story of the infants in arms arose from a misinterpretation of the ambiguous ἐνιαύσιος.

² It must not be forgotten that the quotations from Aelian are all detached fragments out of Suidas, and we cannot tell their original context.

1155, says that those who were doing servitude in the temple were two in number.¹ All the passages can be reconciled by the assumption that two only were in the temple at a time, and were released after a year's servitude by the arrival of the next pair; but that on their return home they were for ever debarred from marriage, and had to be kept by their families till their despised old age.

How long did this uncanny rite continue? Plutarch, writing of the long-delayed vengeance of heaven, says that it came to an end "not long ago." This is of course only a rhetorical expression: it must in his case cover some centuries, which might be called "no long time" in comparison with the many which had elapsed since the fall of Troy. We can say, however, that it was in force up to 300 B.C.: for an inscription found in Locris, and dated near the beginning of the third century, speaks of it as still existing; and Aelian tells us that the Locrians, while unable to repudiate the obligation, referred to the arbitration of Antigonos the question which of their cities was liable to discharge it. This takes us to the last quarter of the fourth century, and in all probability to the period between 305 and 301 B.C., when the Troad formed part of the kingdom of Antigonos.

This, however, seems to clash with the evidence of Timaeus as given in the scholion on Lycophron 1141,

¹ In this quotation it is clear that ἀπέθανον means "were killed" on their way to Troy. It is not to be taken as implying that only two were kept in the temple, and that they stayed there for their lives, a fresh maiden being sent only when one died.

“when a thousand years had passed, after the Phocian War, the Locrians discontinued the sacrifice.” Such a quotation cannot in any case override the evidence of an inscription, and it is obviously suspicious in itself. Timæus, whatever his faults, at least claimed to be a chronologer: he was the first to systematise the Olympian calendar, and he discussed the date of the fall of Troy. It is extremely improbable that he would fix any point occurring a thousand years later by the vague words “after the Phocian War.” It seems certain that we should read “when a thousand years had passed after the *Trojan War*”; Τρωϊκῶν for Φωκιῶν is an easy emendation palaeographically, and was made, I believe, by Sebastiani, though recent editors do not notice it. The very order of the words clearly calls for it. It is true that the earliest date mentioned by Timæus for the fall of Troy is 1346 B.C., and that a thousand years from this coincided with the end of the first Sacred War. But in the face of other facts it is useless to discuss a clearly impossible date. We can conclude only one thing—that Timæus, if the statement really comes from him, knew and recorded the ending of the “sacrifice.” This is entirely in accordance with a termination in the first half of the third century, as his history of Sicily was brought down to 264 B.C. More closely than this we cannot fix it. One of the alternative dates named by Timæus for the capture of Troy, 1308, would be a little too early for Antigonos; and the more generally accepted era of Eratosthenes, 1184,

would carry it below the age of Timaeus. The era of Aretes, 1289, would suit well; but the question was probably settled by the chronology accepted at Delphi, and this we do not know.

There is one mention by a contemporary: the incidental manner in which it is introduced, as a matter of common knowledge, in a technical work dealing with an apparently remote matter, gives a far more vivid impression of truth than all the allusions of archaeologists and historians. Aeneas Tacticus, the military writer of the fourth century, dealing with fortification, has occasion to point out the risks involved in leaving any secret access into a fortress. Such an entrance, he says, cannot be kept permanently guarded, "as for instance the Trojans, though they have tried for so long a time and so eagerly to prevent the entrance of the Locrian maidens, have not succeeded, but for many years the Locrian men have been able to bring them in." It is at least some comfort to know that the risk to the lives of the unhappy girls was not so serious as might be supposed from the bloodthirsty account of Lycophron. But this earliest mention of the custom does take us far in our search for what is to us the most interesting point, the date when it began.

But here Polybius comes to our help. In one of his attacks upon Timaeus, his *bête noire*, he has occasion to deal with some contradiction about Locrian customs between Timaeus and Aristotle. Exactly where the difference lay does not appear in the un-

happily mutilated book xii. of his history ; it is always possible that a lucky discovery of Aristotle, *On the Constitution of the Locrians*, may throw a flood of fresh light on the whole question. But Polybius tells us his own claim to speak on the matter. He was on very friendly terms with the Epizephyrian Locrians, whom he had been able to assist by his influence at Rome : he had stayed with them as an honoured guest, and thus had special opportunity for studying their customs. And he gives us the following information. " All hereditary honours pass with them by female and not by male descent, so that they reckon as noble those who belong to the Hundred Houses : by which is meant the houses which were selected by the Locrians, before the colony was sent out, to supply by lot the maidens to be sent to Ilion in accordance with the oracle. Some of the women of these houses therefore emigrated with the colony, and their descendants are now regarded as noble, and counted as belonging to the Hundred Houses."

Now this evidence takes us at once to the eighth century B.C. The Epizephyrian colony came to Italy from Locris not far from 700 B.C. ; and by that time the custom was so old and so well established as to serve for a patent of nobility. One can hardly suppose that this meant less than a century of existence. And it is difficult to see what better evidence can be had of any historical facts at so early an age. The tradition of hereditary nobility is retained with a tenacity and conservatism which always gives it an

especial value: the reporter is in this case a man of scientific mind, with exceptional opportunities of information. So far as anything can be proved for the eighth century B.C., it seems to me that this Locrian sacrifice is proved to have existed then.

There exists, however, a contradictory assertion which must be taken into account. Demetrius of Scepsis, followed by Strabo,¹ says that the sacrifice began "under the domination of the Persians," *i.e.* not much before 500 B.C.

Now we know that Demetrius denied the claim of the Ilium of his time to be the Homeric Troy, which he placed three miles away, at the site called "the village of the Ilians." But this site had no remains; indeed the absence of remains seems to have been its chief claim, since Troy, *ex hypothesi*, had been utterly destroyed. The temple of Athena stood at "Novum" Ilium, Hissarlik, and it was to this that the maidens were sent. It was therefore essential that the pretensions of this temple should be refuted: if the rite in question were of immemorial antiquity, it was obviously a title-deed of unanswerable validity. Demetrius therefore must either deny the antiquity of the rite or abandon his pet theory. The claim of the temple was unquestionable as far back as the Persians; for it was here that Xerxes had made his famous pilgrimage. Demetrius therefore puts the date of the rite as late as he possibly can.

For this statement Demetrius, so far as we can

¹ xiii. i. 40.

judge from Strabo, offered no single positive argument; the one negative reason which he gives is so futile as conclusively to condemn his case. He can only say that Homer knows nothing of the outrage on Cassandra. And this he supports on the evidence of the following passages:—(i.) Cassandra is still a virgin during the war, for her hand is sought in marriage by Othryoneus, *Il.* xiii. 365. As though this were inconsistent with a later outrage.¹ (ii.) When the death of Aias is described in *Od.* iv. 499 ff., it is not attributed to the vengeance of Athena, but to the indignation of Poseidon at the boastfulness of the hero, and the anger of Athena is directed against him only in common with the other Greeks. The words are “and now he might have escaped death, though Athena was wroth with him, had he not spoken an overweening thing,” etc. This is obviously quite consistent with the legend that Athena had spared him on his vow that expiation should be given for his crime. That Homer does not explicitly mention it is true; but even Strabo might have been expected to see that this was no evidence against the existence of the tradition from prehistoric, if not from Homeric, times. It is at all events old enough to be told in the “Little Iliad,” and from it to be painted by Polygnotus on the wall of the Lesche at Delphi. The silence of Homer as to any tradition hardly offers a presumption against its antiquity:

¹ Indeed the prevalent tradition did not hold that the outrage consisted in more than the dragging away from the Palladium.

and in this particular case his allusion to the anger of Athena rather confirms than contradicts this particular story. (iii.) Troy is said by Homer to have been sacked (*πέλοιο, διατέρεσσαν*): therefore no trace of it can possibly have survived, and the modern temple cannot be on the old site. (iv.) In Homeric days the image of Athena was seated, for in *Il.* vi. 303, the ladies of Troy lay the peplos "on her knees;" but the image now in the temple is a standing statue. These two reasons require no comment beyond two notes of admiration.

Demetrius's whole position seems indeed so patently silly as to lead us to suppose that Strabo cannot have properly presented it. There must have been something more than we know on which Demetrius relied; and it is not impossible to make a guess at what it may have been. We have seen that tradition told of an occupation of the Troad by the Treres or Trares, a barbarous horde of northern invaders; and that the remains of Stratum VII. 2 conclusively confirm the story. Such an irruption must clearly have caused a breach in the rites of the temple; the Locrian sacrifice must have been suspended for a time, and may have been resumed under, or not long before, the domination of the Persians. Probably Demetrius regarded this as the beginning of the custom, scornfully dismissing the tale of a resumption as a temple-myth. This agrees entirely with his theory¹ that the "New" Ilium was founded only

¹ Strabo, xiii. 1. 42.

under the Lydians. He denied the existence on the hill of Hissarlik of any town earlier than the invasion of the Troas.

Schliemann has refuted him in his topography, and Polybius refutes his chronology. The Trarian invasion is said, with all appearance of probability, to have been connected with that of the Cimmerians, and must therefore have taken place in the first half of the seventh century, or at least not long before. But the evidence of Polybius carries the Locrian custom back earlier than this point; so that there must in fact have been an interruption and resumption of an older custom. And it seems to me highly probable that the tradition as we have it actually contains traces of this interruption.

Both in Lycophron and the scholia we hear of a hill Traron. Lycophron (1157) says: "Hephaistos shall burn the corpse with flame of barren weeds, and cast into the sea the dust of her that was done to death from the crests of Traron." On this the comment is: "It happened that one of the girls sent from Locris was killed on a Trojan hill called Traron; and that the Locrians buried her and kept their counsel, and ceased to send the girls, thinking that the tale of years had been completed. But a plague of barrenness came upon them after the discontinuance, so they again sent—not two but one, regarding this as sufficient expiation. But the oracle had no fixed term, and merely ordered them to send two maidens in penalty for the crime of Aias."

This is all confused and unintelligible as it stands, being evidently a compilation from two distinct sources. One of these we must dismiss at once, as it is incompatible with Lycophron himself, and with the tradition as we hear of it elsewhere. This is the last part, beginning with the words "not two but one" down to the end. The tradition elsewhere is consistent in regard to the thousand years, and the sending of two girls every year. Whence this variant came we cannot say: it is evidently out of place at this particular point. When the Locrians are being punished for breaking their vow is not the moment at which it could be alleviated by any opinion of their own as to what was or was not an adequate propitiation.

But the first part has difficulties as well. Why should the Locrians think that the punishment was at an end because one of the girls was killed on a hill called Traron? The reason cannot have been because the girl was killed; the liability to this was part of the penalty. Are we to suppose that a particular hill called Traron was put "out of bounds" under the rules of the game? The idea is absurd. Nothing is known from any other source of a hill called Traron: it is evident that the scholiasts could find out nothing about it, as they tell us no more than that it was "a promontory of Troy, whence one of the Locrian maidens was hurled and was buried when found by them;" which is just what they knew from Lycophron himself.

But the story becomes intelligible at once if we suppose that Lycophron, or one of his authorities, misread an ambiguous word in an old chronicler, and that the girl was killed not "under Traron" (Τρηάρων(ι) ἕπο) but "by Trarians" (Τρηάρων ἕπο). The Locrians, coming with the annual tribute, found the town and temple of Troy in the possession of a barbarous horde, who killed one of the girls, likely enough after she had actually reached the sacred precinct where her life should have been safe. The temple of Athena itself was probably in ruins: at any rate it must have been desecrated and the services must have ceased. The Locrians naturally felt that the bargain was no longer being kept on the side of the goddess, and regarded themselves as relieved from their obligation. They "kept their counsel"—they did not even think themselves bound to consult the oracle in so plain a case. By the time the fresh plague of unfruitfulness has come upon them, and they are compelled to resort to Delphi for instructions, the Trares have retired from Troy; and the oracle is able to give a valuable reproof for past neglect by pointing to the unsanctioned discontinuance.

Whether in this particular way or not, it is clear that the name Traron implies some special connexion between the Trares and the Locrian sacrifice, and in itself refutes the idea that the custom arose from the Persian, or even the Lydian, domination, after the Trares had disappeared for ever from the scene. That it should have been started in the sixth century

is in itself incredible : late though the vengeance of heaven may be, yet a retribution delayed for over 500 years can hardly carry any terrors, and Delphi for its own credit can scarcely have alleged it.

But if, as seems clear, the custom went back earlier than the Trarian invasion, it has an important bearing on the builders of the houses with the peculiar foundations with orthostatae in VII. 2. It strongly confirms Dörpfeld's belief that these imply an early Greek settlement, at least as early as 800 B.C., perhaps even a century or two earlier. It is in such a settlement that we can guess at the origin of the custom. It would be in entire concordance with what we know of the early Greeks that, in settling on the site of a town which they had themselves once laid waste, and whose gods they identified with their own, they should think it necessary to appease the divinities, and make atonement for the desolation of their shrines. While, as we have seen to be likely for a time after its fall, the site of Troy was occupied by men of the old Trojan race, it is in the highest degree improbable that the Greeks should have paid much attention to the wrongs of the local gods ; it was a different matter when they came to live themselves on the spot, and to feel the necessity of all the divine protection which could be gained. And nothing is more likely than that Delphi should make reparation for the legendary sin an obligation on any colony in Troy itself.

It is probable that these earliest settlers at Troy

were themselves Locrians. Tradition said that the Aeolic emigration started from Locris,¹ and settled in this very neighbourhood; the name Phrikonis given to Kyme was taken from that of a mountain in Locris² and carried across the sea in true emigrant fashion. That an Athena Ilias was worshipped in Locris³ might be explained as part of the reparation for the sin of Aias; but it is not so easy to account for the similarity of the name of Ileus (Ἰλεύς), the legendary father of Aias, to those of Ilios in the Trojan genealogy, and the town of Ilios itself. The resemblance may be fortuitous, and does not seem to have struck the early mythographers as needing explanation; but it may carry some more real significance when taken in connexion with the other evidence of early colonisation. It has of late years been made the foundation of many theories, mostly, in my opinion, baseless. But one at least deserves consideration—that Ilios was the name given to the town by its earliest Locrian settlers in honour of their legendary hero-ancestor. The other name, Troia, means of course no more than “City of the Troes,” and is obviously of Greek origin. It may be guessed that the Trojans themselves knew it by no other title than “Pergamon,” the Burgh of their land. The name was distinctive enough for the inhabitants, but not for strangers who knew other Burghs, and therefore had to apply a name of their own. It is

¹ Strabo, xiii. 1. 3.

² *Ibid.* and xiii. 3. 3: of Herod. i. 149.

³ *C. I. G. Sept.* iii. 1, 349 ff.: Brückner, *Tr. und II.* p. 572.

not to be wondered at that a name given at so early a date should have found its way into the Epic vocabulary, and even, in the form *Ilos*, into the Trojan genealogy. Such interpolation was a recognised way of asserting a better claim than mere violence; and the Athenians themselves were accused of bringing their own *Erichthonios* into the same lineage of Priam, in order to legitimate their occupation of Sigeum.

And now at last we can return to the well *Ba*, from which we set out. Its position shows that it was the sacred temple well from which the water required for lustration and all the services of the sanctuary must be drawn. But it lay in the main axis of the temple, within sight of the goddess standing in the cella and looking through the doors to the eastern sun. The water had to be drawn by maidens under a curse, on whom the eyes of the pure goddess must not rest. This is why the access to it must be concealed underground, while its top was covered by a lantern through which no temple-slave could pass.

There is yet another point in which I venture to suggest that the ruins illustrate the story. The Hellenic staircase which mounts by the side of the Water Tower must surely be the very secret passage by which the maidens gained the temple. It leads directly into the sacred precinct: the upper part of it has been actually covered up by the Roman altar in front of the temple. At its lower end lay, as we

have seen, a spring—outside the older circuit of the wall, but protected by the later Greek bastion. In order to protect the foundation of the wall from any undermining by the water, the overflow must have been let out by some drain or culvert opening on the outer side. If this were just large enough to admit a man crawling, we have exactly such a secret entrance to the sanctuary as the tale, and the scientific evidence of Aeneas Tacticus, imply.

It must be remembered that this is not the only story in which secret access to the temple of Athena plays a prominent part. The legend of the stealing of the Palladium by Odysseus and Diomedes was far more famous in antiquity than that of the Locrian maidens: and to it the secret entrance was indispensable. "We slipped through a narrow culvert not unmired," *στῆνεν ἔδυμα φάλιδα κούκ ἀβέρβορον*, says one of the heroes in a fragment of Sophocles' *Lacaenae* (337 Nauck). The word *φάλις*, literally *scissors*, is used of a small covered passage formed by stones set obliquely against one another.¹ The existence of such an outlet for the protected spring may almost be assumed *a priori*: narrow it must certainly have been, and muddy with the trickle of the water. It was probably preserved for centuries, to be shown as the entrance in legendary days of Odysseus and Diomedes, and still the prescribed haven of refuge for the hunted girls from Locris.

¹ Cf. Serv. *Aen.* ii. 166, "Diomedes et Ulixes ut alii dicunt cuniculis, ut alii cloacis ascenderunt arcem."

CHAPTER IV

HOMER AND TROY

CRESSIDA. Who were those went by?
ALEXANDER. Queen Hecuba and Helen.
CRESSIDA. And whither go they?
ALEXANDER. Up to the eastern tower,
Whose height commands as subject all the vale,
To see the battle.

—SHAKESPEARE.

WE have already seen that the hill of Hissarlik answers perfectly, so far as the surroundings are concerned, to the Troy of Homer. Now that we have been through the ruins, we are prepared to push the question further, and ask how the town itself corresponds to such details as can be gathered from the *Iliad*.

We notice, to begin with, that among the pottery found in the houses of the Sixth Stratum was some of the latest Mycenaean type, which can be dated with confidence to the period of the 13th or 12th century B.C.; and we thus have a close correspondence with the traditional date of the fall of Troy, not later than 1185 B.C. It will be remembered that traces of

Mycenaean influence are still found in the succeeding period, VII. 1.

The magnitude of the fortifications is sufficient proof that the fort on Hissarlik was the chief place of the district. It is not to be supposed that it should have existed concurrently with any rival of nearly equal strength; and the whole of the plain has now been so minutely examined as to allow overwhelming weight to the negative assertion, that no other similar fortress did as a fact exist anywhere in the neighbourhood in the age preceding the Greek colonisation. We need therefore trouble ourselves no more with the supposed "village of the Ilians," where Demetrius and Strabo placed the Homeric Troy.¹ The chief claim of that site seems to have been found in the fact that there were no remains there. Troy, according to Demetrius, had been absolutely wiped out and never inhabited again: so *ex hypothesi* it must have lain at a place where no remains existed in his time. Q.E.D.

Homer's Troy is therefore either to be found at

¹ Strabo gives measurements which sufficiently fix the site. He says it lay 30 stades along the ridge (of Hissarlik) towards Ida; 10 stades farther on lay Kallikolone, at 5 stades from the stream of the Simois. This must be the hill called Kara Yur, 680 feet high, the most conspicuous and characteristic point in the whole ridge: the village of the Ilians must have been at the point marked in Spratt's map "Broken pottery and stones, an antient site." The distances closely correspond. The "antient site" is, as Strabo says, much nearer than Hissarlik to the lower basin of the Thymbrius—about 30 stades instead of 50. In Dörpfeld's map it is marked at Ali Bey's Konak, too far from Ilium and 20 stades from the Simois. This indeed corresponds more closely with Strabo's phrase *πλευσίον ἐστὶ τὸ πεδίον ἢ Θύμισσα*: but I find it impossible to believe that Demetrius can seriously have defended a site from which the plains of Scamander and Simois, and therefore the whole battlefield, were invisible.

Hissarlik, or it is purely a creation of the fancy. What criteria can we find to decide between the two alternatives?

In one respect at least we notice a marked difference. The "sixth city," though in the Greek sense a πόλις, was never really what we should call a "city." It was a large fortress, a prince's castle, but not a place which could hold a large number of peaceful inhabitants. It is no more than 200 yards in diameter, and the whole area within the walls is only about 5 acres. It could at most contain a strong garrison of perhaps two or three thousand men in addition to the family and retainers of the chieftain, whose palace must undoubtedly have occupied the centre of it. Although no definite number of combatants on either part is given by the *Iliad*, yet the Catalogue of the Ships seems to indicate forces on the Greek side to be numbered by tens of thousands, and implies, if not equal armies to oppose them, at least sufficient to render the disparity something less than absurd. We have to suppose that in addition to the troops of Troy itself, there were present to assist them allies still more numerous. For such a company as this would imply the stage is unquestionably far too small. Indeed, the Trojan Plain itself would hardly give sufficient space for the handling of such bodies of men as an exact computation of numbers appears to involve.

It will perhaps be urged that the walls of the fortress enclosed only the acropolis, and that the

town of Troy itself lay like the later Roman Ilium eastward upon the plateau between the valleys of the two rivers. This may to a certain extent be true; to what extent, we shall have occasion further to inquire. But one thing must be taken as certain—that if this lower town existed, it was not walled. The critical points of the southern and eastern circuit of the citadel have now been examined. It is hardly possible that, had any walls of a lower town been connected with them, the junction should have escaped observation; and the main gateway (VI. T) has all the appearance of an outer line of defence. But an open lower town will not satisfy the conditions of the *Iliad*. The troops, Trojans and allies alike, are depicted not as camping out in the open, but as cooped within the walls, and hardly venturing forth to oppose the Achaians, who can range at will up to the foot of the fortifications. But it has always been the privilege of poets to exaggerate, and we need not be anxious to relieve Homer, or perhaps rather the tradition which he followed, from this natural tendency. And if we find that he agrees with facts on other points, our confidence in an historical foundation for the poems need not be materially shaken.

Indeed, the last word on this point was said more than 2000 years ago, by Thucydides, in the famous opening chapters which have laid the foundations of modern history. We have no right, he says, to be unduly incredulous, and judge the importance of

ancient cities by the smallness of their remains. We may well hold that the Trojan expedition was greater than any that preceded it, though modern ideas may regard it as small, if we are to judge by Homer, who, as a poet, may be expected to exaggerate.¹

The catalogue of the Greek ships should perhaps be taken rather as an account of Homeric Greece and the relative importance of the states that composed it than as an integral portion of the Trojan tradition, into which indeed it seems to be somewhat violently thrust. The Trojan Catalogue, with which we shall presently have to deal minutely, has no reason for existence, apart from the story of the war; and it has nothing to say about numbers—it is a mere enumeration of tribes. It evidently suits its place in the story, and one may be allowed to conjecture that it stood here from the first, and gave rise to the subsequent introduction of the Greek Catalogue. If that be so, then the charge of exaggeration of numbers does not apply to the oldest tradition. But here we are entering on dangerous ground, and we will not pursue the argument further.

Apart from the undue magnitude of the Greek host, there is in fact remarkably little exaggeration in the *Iliad*. The very epithets used of the town of Troy, usually spoken of as applicable only to a more

¹ οὐκ οὐκ ἀπίστεϊν εἰκός οὐδὲ τὰς ὄψεις τῶν πόλεων μᾶλλον σκοπεῖν ἢ τὰς δυνάμεις, νομίζων δὲ τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην μακίστην μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς, λεπιομένην δὲ τῶν μῦθ, τῆι Ὀμήρου αὐ ποιῆσαι εἴ τι χρὴ κάταθεα πιστεύειν, ἦν εἰκός ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον μὲν ποιητὴν ὄντα κοσμάσει κτλ.—THESS. i. 10.

imposing site, such as that of the Bally Dagh, prove on close consideration to be most appropriate to Hissarlik. If they are accused of exaggeration, the blame is to be laid rather to our interpretation of them than to the *Iliad* itself. Let us take them in order.

As seen from the north, the natural approach for the stranger, on the steep scarp of the hill, rising to at least 100 feet above the plain at its feet, circled certainly with a double, probably a triple ring of great walls of masonry, and crowned at the top no doubt by a palace and perhaps by a temple, Troy must, in this country of small heights, have formed a really imposing mass. Tiryns stands on a much smaller hillock in the marshes by the sea; Mycenae is hidden away in a nook among higher hills. Neither of them can have presented a more forbidding face to the invader. Troy is, therefore, rightly described as a "great citadel" (μέγα ἄστυ, πολίσσρον), "browy" (ὄφρυόεσσα), "well-walled, well-towered, high-gated" (εὐτείχεος, εὐπυργος, ὑψίπυλος). "Windy" it undoubtedly is: many a visitor can testify to the tearing wind which sweeps down from the north, and in fact constitutes during most of the summer a serious climatic drawback to the country.¹

There remains one epithet about which some doubt may be felt. Can a citadel crowded into so narrow a space be properly called "wide-wayed," εὐρύγυια? To this question Dörpfeld has given an ingenious and

¹ See further in Chap. VIII.

in my opinion sufficient answer. It is of course true that the lanes leading up from the circumference of the walls to the centre of the citadel are extremely narrow—mere passages hardly permitting two people to do more than pass. But one of the most striking features of the place is the system of terraces which run round the walls inside the ramparts. Only one line of these has been actually found, but the existence of an inner ring is extremely probable. The one we know varies in clear width, between the inner face of the battlement and the outer face of the inner retaining wall, from 25 to over 30 feet.¹ Such a feature has not been found elsewhere; a roadway of this width was exceptional throughout all antiquity in Greece.

So far as Homer's epithets go, then, we may say that all are justifiable by the remains, and some strikingly characteristic.

Let us next ask whether what we hear about the gates of Troy in Homer agrees with what is found at Hissarlik. Here our first difficulty is to ascertain what it is that the *Iliad* really tells us. We hear often of the Skaian Gate, with the great tower beside it, the place of outlook whence the fighting on the plain is watched. Through the Skaian Gate the warriors pass when they go to or from the battlefield: and by it chariots can descend to the plain (*Il.* iii. 263). We hear thrice also of the Dardanian Gate (or gates); in *Il.* v. 789, xxii. 194, 413. And

¹ See Plate XIII. ; the space between *aa*, the retaining wall of the inner circle, and *bb*, the main outer wall, was in Mycenaean Troy clear of buildings.

in ii. 809 we have the phrase "all the gates were opened," *πάσαι δ' ὄφικοντο πύλαι*. It would seem, therefore, that Troy had at least three gates.

This, however, was not the view of Aristarchos. The Greeks had an unfortunate practice of using the plural *πύλαι* of a single gate; hence Aristarchos was able to argue that Homer's Troy had only one gate, known either as the Skaian or Dardanian; and that the phrase in ii. 809 means not "all the gates were opened," but "the gate was opened all," *i.e.* wide.

If Aristarchos is right in this view, we can say at once that Homer's Troy does not agree with the ruins at Hissarlik. For there are, as we have seen, in what has been discovered of the circuit of the wall, three gates, not counting the small one on the Water Tower, the outer connexion of which is obscure. These three, however, may be regarded for our purpose as two, inasmuch as one of them had been built up before the fall of the town, apparently in preparation for a siege. But in no case can there have been only one gate.

The view of Aristarchos, however, seems so forced, and involves such doubtful Greek, that almost all critics have preferred the obvious sense of the words, and have held that there were not less than three gates. We will start on this assumption, and begin with the gate of which we oftenest hear, the Skaian.

Does the name itself tell us anything? Unfortunately it does not. If we take it to mean the gate "on the left hand," we have first to decide whether

it is so called from the Trojan point of view or the Achaian; and if, as seems natural, from the Trojan, we are still not clear about the direction in which the spectator in the midst of the fortress is supposed to be looking. Besides, the word may perhaps be used as Vitruvius uses "scaeva porta"—to mean a "left-handed" gate, one, that is, which exposes the weak right flank of an assailant to attack from above. And, finally, we do not even know that the word is Greek at all; it happens that the name is quoted by Strabo as one of those which indicate a relationship between the Trojans and the Thracians.¹ All etymological guesswork must therefore be put aside, and we can rely only on the text of Homer and topographical facts.

The Skaian Gate, as we know, was flanked by a tower, the greatest in the fortress, for it is called "the great tower of Ilios" (vi. 386). Both are regarded as a single work, for to sit "at the Skaian gates" is equivalent to sitting "on the tower" (iii. 149, 153). This is the very plan which we have found in the two gates which were open at the time of the war: the approach to each of them is flanked by a tower, though only in the case of VI. T are tower and gate so close that they can be regarded as a unit.

Where this gate-tower stood in the circuit of the walls the *Iliad* enables us to say within narrow limits.

¹ πολλαὶ δ' ἀνοικυμίσαι Θρακῆν καὶ Τροάδην, ὅσων Σκαῖοι Θρακῆς τινες καὶ Σκαῖος πόντος καὶ Σκαίων τεῖχος, καὶ ἐν Τροίᾳ Σκαῖαί πόλαι.—xiii. 1. 21.

The nearest point to the battlefield, the only point which gives an uninterrupted view of the plain around, must be near the north-west angle of the fort. Here only could Hector, awaiting the onset of Achilles as he comes from the Scamander, stand

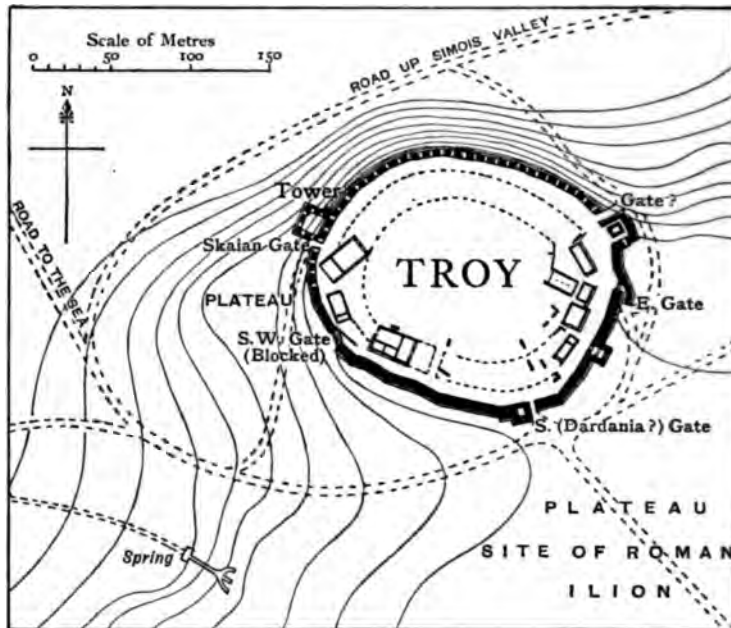


FIG. 8.—Homer's Troy.

“in front of Ilios and the Skaian gate,” Ἰλίου προπύργου πύλαων τε Σκαϊάων (xxi. 6).¹

The conformation of the hill of Hissarlik enables us to locate the gate still more closely; for at only one point near this north-west angle does the ground

¹ This line is a complete and unanswerable confutation of the ingenious but hopeless attempt of Robert, in *Hermes* xlii., to find the Skaian Gate in that which has already been described as VI. S., the “E. Gate” of Fig. 8.

show a slope towards the plain gentle enough for Priam to drive his horses down. The whole northern scarp is far too steep to admit of this. But the contoured map¹ shows on the west side, just below the actual corner of the walls—here, by the way, conjectural—a small nearly level plateau lying outside the enceinte, and leading down to the plain by a quite moderate slope. As this offered the easiest way out from the city on this side, so it offered the obvious point of attack for an enemy. It was evidently of primary importance that a besieger should not be allowed to effect a lodgment on this plateau, immediately at the foot of the wall, and the provision of a strong flanking defence was more imperative here than at any other point in the whole circuit.

Unfortunately there is no direct evidence as to the presence or absence of any remains of a gate and tower at this spot. Over it stand great mounds of débris, the spoil of Schliemann's earlier excavations, and till these are removed no certainty can be attained. It is, indeed, very doubtful if the labour and expense involved in clearing them away would be rewarded by any positive evidence; for it is certain that only a very short distance eastward all stones had been removed in antiquity; for some distance southward the wall cannot be traced; and it is only too likely that the devastation may have destroyed the tower and gate as well. That, however, is a point which must be left to the future to determine.

¹ For the very uncertain gate beside the N.E. tower see p. 98, note 1.

There is, however, a remarkable indirect confirmation of this view—an agreement so remarkable that its discoverer, Dr. Dörpfeld, himself hesitates to regard it as more than an accidental coincidence.

It was particularly noted in the description of the wall (p. 88) that the curtain on the west side was very notably weaker than any other part yet discovered; and that this weak point was found just where the wall is most accessible to an enemy on the north and west. Now the weak point in the walls of Troy played a part in legend. When the gods Poseidon and Apollo built the walls of the city they were helped, it was said, by the mortal Aiakos; where he had worked the fortress was vulnerable and was, in fact, ultimately stormed. The legend is given by Pindar,¹ and, though Homer does not explicitly state it, it seems clear that he refers to it in a very famous passage. Andromache, praying Hector not to risk his life, says: "Come² now and have pity and abide here on the tower, lest thou make thy child an orphan

¹ O. viii. 31-46—

ἐκ Αἰακοῦ· τὸν παῖς δ' Ἄπολλος εὐρυμέδων τε Ποσειδάων,
Ἴλιον μέλλοντες ἐπὶ στέφανον τεύχαι, καλέσαντο κυνεργὸν τάχως . . .
ἔκτισε δ' . . . Ἀπόλλων,
Πέργαμος ἀμφὶ τεαίς, ἦρωος, χερὸς ἐργασίας ἀλίσκεται.

² Ἄλλ' ἔγε νῦν ἔλαπε καὶ αὐτοῦ μίμν' ἐπὶ πύργῳ,
μὴ παῖδ' ὄρφανικὸν εἴησις χήρην τε γυναῖκα·
λαὸν δὲ στήσον παρ' ἐρινοῦν, ἔνεα μάλιστα
ἀμβατός ἐστι πόλις καὶ ἐπιθρομον ἔπιλετο τάχος·
τρὶς γὰρ τῆι γ' ἐλεόντες ἐπαρήσαντο οἱ ἕριστοι
ἀμφ' Αἴαντε θύω καὶ ἀγάκλυτον Ἴδουμανίᾳ
ἠδ' ἀμφ' Ἀτρεΐδου καὶ Τυδέου ἄλκιμον υἱόν·
ἢ πού τις σφιν ἔκτισε θεοπροπίων ἐν εἰδώς,
ἢ νῦ καὶ αὐτῶν θυμὸς ἐποτρύνει καὶ ἀνώγει.

—II. vi. 431-439.

and thy wife a widow. And stay thy folk beside the fig-tree, where best the city may be scaled, and the wall is assailable. Thrice came thither the most valiant that are with the two Aiantes and famed Idomeneus, and the sons of Atreus and Tydeus's valiant son, and essayed to enter; whether one skilled in soothsaying revealed it to them, or whether their own spirit urgeth them and biddeth them on."

The introduction of soothsaying as a means by which the Achaians may have gained knowledge of the weakness of this particular spot clearly indicates some divine secret. That the wall was built by Poseidon and Apollo, Homer himself tells us (*I*. vii. 452-8). If it was vulnerable, it clearly must have been so where the gods themselves had not worked; and evidently the legend of a mortal partner must have gone back to the earliest form of the story, and is assumed in Homer, like so much else, as well known to all.

The curious thing is, that Andromache should say that this vulnerable part of the wall stands where the city is best approached; and that this, unlikely though it seems in itself, should be exactly confirmed by the existing remains. But, granting that it is a reality, it will be felt that it is exactly a fact which we should expect to impress the imagination of the besiegers, when once discovered, and to be handed down by tradition. Its very strangeness would seem to call for some legendary explanation. An ordinary builder would surely have taken care to

make the wall strongest, and not weakest, at the place where it was easiest for an assailant to effect a lodgment at its foot.

There is, therefore, reasonable ground for holding that this remarkable coincidence is not accidental, but a true tradition; and that when we take our stand on the top of the steep mound of débris which still offers the best panoramic view of plain and ruins,¹ we are occupying almost exactly the point of space from which Helen and Priam are pictured as looking upon the two armies, and whence Priam and Hecuba plead with Hector as he stands beneath them on the plateau in front of the gate, awaiting his doom. We will return presently to the chase round the walls; it is necessary first to discuss a more obscure problem, the meaning of the "Dardanian gate" or "gates."

The πόλις Δαρδάνια is only thrice mentioned in the *Iliad*. (1) In v. 789 Hera, taunting the Greeks, says, "so long as Achilles came forth to war, the Trojans never ventured even outside the Dardanian gate(s)." (2) Achilles is in xxii. 194 chasing Hector round the walls of Troy: "and oft as he set himself to dart under the well-built walls under the Dardanian gate(s), if haply from above they might succour him with darts, so oft would Achilles gain upon him and turn him towards the plain." (3) When the death of Hector becomes known in Troy, "scarcely could the folk keep back the old man (Priam) in his hot

¹ This is the conical mound conspicuous in the middle of Plate iv.

desire to get him forth of the Dardanian gate(s)" (xxii. 413). In all these cases the phrase is often taken—as it has been recently, for instance, by Robert—to mean no more than "the *Trojan* gate" or gates. And this clearly gives an excellent sense in all three passages. But it hardly seems possible that the adjective should be used in this sense. Trojans and Dardanians are always distinguished in Homer. They are kindred tribes, claiming descent from a common ancestor, Dardanos, and Priam is constantly called "son of Dardanos." But they are under different chiefs (*Il.* ii. 816, 819); their territories are adjacent, but not identical: Dardania lies in the upper valley of the Scamander, Troy in the lower. The name Trojan, as that of the predominant partner, no doubt may include Dardanian;¹ but Dardanian is never used for Trojan. Dardanos is not even the founder of Troy (*xx.* 216), but belongs to an older age. And, finally, if the epithet is purely otiose, and tells us no more about the gates than we knew before—for no other gates than those of Troy can possibly be meant—it should, by all epic usage, be descriptive; why should Homer not have said ὑψηλῶν or the like?

This difficulty is ingeniously met by Dörpfeld, who takes the phrase to mean not "Dardanian gates," but "Dardania Gate," *i.e.* that gate of Troy which led to Dardania. This undoubtedly gives a satisfactory

¹ *E.g.* Archelochos, and Akamas (*ii.* 823), and Euphorbos (*xvi.* 807), are Dardanians, but their fathers Antenor and Panthoos are reckoned among the Τρώων δημοτέροντες in *iii.* 146-8.

explanation of the adjective: the naming of gates after the towns or districts served by the road passing out of them is natural and common enough. The gate which we know as VI. T, on the south-east side of the fortress, points directly towards Dardania, in the upper Scamander valley; if this interpretation is correct, it must unquestionably be the Dardania Gate. And on this theory, as Dörpfeld justly remarks, the words of Hera in v. 789 gain fresh significance. When she tells the Greeks that, so long as Achilles kept the field, the Trojans dared not issue "even from the Dardanian Gate," she means that they could not come forth even from the gate which lay at the back of the fortress, farthest from the Achaian camp, and best protected from observation.

But when we examine the other two allusions to this gate the matter is not so clear. Why should this one gate be the point for which Hector always makes in order that his friends may help him with their shafts from above? Why should he not aim also at gaining the Skaian Gate? And, if we are to call the ruins to give evidence, why should he not especially try to escape into the eastern gate VI. S? This would appear to give him the best chance of all; for the approach to it is slightly downhill, it is flanked by the tower VI. h, and provided further, unlike the southern gate, with a crooked entrance, defended on both sides, and offering, it would seem, quite exceptional opportunities for a fugitive. In short, the passage seems imperatively to require

words which mean that, whenever Hector made for *any* of the gates, Achilles edged him off.

So with the third passage. Achilles is just dragging the body of Hector in triumph to the ships. His unhappy father is standing on the tower by the Skaian Gate. His frantic impulse is to rush out of the gate and hasten to the ships, to throw himself at Achilles' feet. Why then should we be specially told that the gate out of which he wished to issue was the "Dardania Gate" on the other side of the fortress, and leading directly away from the sea? Why should he not be content to go out by the Skaian Gate at his feet, as he had done when he was summoned, not long before, to take the oaths during the armistice? The gatekeepers are there, ready to open or close at a moment's notice (xxi. 530-536). The question seems to me unanswerable.

None therefore of the solutions of the problem of the *Δαρδάνια πύλαι* appears to me acceptable. We can, however, see the arguments which led Aristarchos to his theory that there was only one gate, called sometimes the Dardanian and sometimes the Skaian. That fails because of the mention of "all the gates" in ii. 809; it would of course be at this point begging the question to say that we know from the remains that Troy actually had more than one gate. But in other respects it is a solution; that is, it meets the requirements of both the passages in xxi. Robert's solution fails because "Dardanian," though it may well be denominative, cannot be a general name

equivalent to Trojan ; and if it had been, Homer would surely not have used it in this manner. Dörpfeld's solution fails because it uses a denominative where a general adjective is required. There is no resource, therefore, but to admit frankly that we are face to face with an unguessed riddle ; but we must add that the enigma is one which affects the question of the Homeric text only, and can neither confirm nor contradict any conclusions we may draw from other sources on the question immediately before us, the congruence or inconsistency of the *Iliad* with the remains. Until we are sure of the sense of our text, we cannot confront it with the excavations at Hissarlik.

Let us now turn to the description of the chase of Hector by Achilles round the walls of Troy, and see how far such points as we have been able to establish accord with that passage, which approaches nearest to a detailed topographical description in the *Iliad*. We will take the position as it is given us at the beginning of *Il.* xxi.

Driving the Trojans from the camp, Achilles has won half-way to the town, as far as the point where, beside the direct road from the one to the other, lies the ford across the Scamander. Here he cuts off some of the fugitives, and drives them to his right into the river at the ford. There he pens them in between the steep banks and slaughters them mercilessly, till the river god, indignant at such treatment

of his stream, takes part in the fight, and rises in so mighty a flood that the hero is swept off his feet and well-nigh drowned. His life is saved only by the intervention of Hephaistos, who sets his flames to burn the river till he cries for mercy.

Meanwhile the fugitives who escaped the trap at the ford have been streaming into the city. Priam, standing on the tower beside the Skaian Gate, sees Achilles again pursuing in the distance, and bids the guards stand ready to close the gates lest Achilles make his way in with the rout. And so he would have done, but that Apollo devises a further respite; a panic-stricken mob takes a long time to pass through a narrow gate. The god stirs up Agenor to turn and make a stand. He himself waits at his side, invisible and leaning against an oak, *φίρωι καλλιμένιος* (xxi. 549). This may be "the" oak, which is often mentioned as a landmark close to the Skaian Gate (vi. 337, ix. 354, xi. 170) and stood, no doubt, at the foot of the slope beneath it. But we have heard of another oak near the tomb of Ilos, in the neighbourhood of the ford; and it is impossible to be certain that the poet meant more than "an" oak. There were doubtless many in the plain: oaks are now the only trees which are allowed to grow to any size in the arable land, their acorns being more valuable than firewood or timber.

Agenor debates whether he shall stand or flee to the "Ileian plain." This can only mean that part of the plain of the Scamander which lies to the west and

south of Troy: that it should have a special name seems to imply that the plains around Troy were divided into three—the upper part of the valley of the Scamander, the upper part of the Simois valley, and the plain between the town and the sea which was common to both rivers. By following this upper branch of the plain Agenor might hope to reach the foothills of Ida, Ἰδῶν κρητῶν, at the foot of the Bally Dagh, where he would have opportunity enough of hiding in the brushwood, bathing in the river, and returning in the evening to Troy. But he rejects this alternative, boldly faces Achilles, and after a single cast is saved from the unequal contest by Apollo, who lures Achilles away “across the wheat-bearing plain, along Scamander” (xxi. 603). Thus all the fugitives escape into the gate, and rest.

Hector only remains outside, “in front of Ilios and the Skaian Gate” (xxii. 6). We have already learnt to know the spot where he is standing: it is on the little plateau just outside the walls where, as Andromache has told us, there stood a wild fig-tree. We have already seen that this was the weak point of the fortress. It was, no doubt, always occupied by sentinels: the drop beneath it is now sufficiently rapid to hide the plain immediately at its base,¹ and it was essential here to guard against surprise. Hence either the plateau itself, or a guard-house upon it, is called Skopie, “the look-out” (xxii. 145).

¹ It would be rash, no doubt, to assume that this was the case in Homeric days also; but it seems probable, as there does not appear to be any accumulation of débris here.

PLATE XIV.



VIEW TO S. W. FROM THE HIGHEST POINT OF HISSARLIK.



Just to the south of this shoulder runs to-day the track by which wheeled vehicles now approach the ruins; and here it must always have run. For this is by far the easiest slope by which the hill-top can be approached; in ancient days it must have been even easier than it is now. The neck of land which joins the citadel to the wide plateau on the south-east has been raised many feet in height by accumulation of débris, obviously due to the levelling of the top of the hill in Greek or Roman times. The surface of the ground now lies some feet higher than the top of the substructure of the Mycenaean fortress wall. In Mycenaean days it may have been fifteen feet or more lower. On this side must have been the approach to the town for all trading purposes—an important matter, as we shall see hereafter—and the south-eastern gate, VI. T, must have been the market gate to which the waggons of the country drove.

A runner, starting from the edge of the plateau, and keeping as nearly as possible on a level, would reach this waggon-track at a point just sixty yards north of a spring.¹ Though there are several springs round the hill, and indeed a supply of water is always to be found within the citadel itself, yet the flow is nowhere abundant, and great pains have been taken to improve and husband it, notably by the great well-cistern in the water tower. Much labour has been bestowed also on this outer source. It was dis-

¹ This must have been the course taken by the other waggon-track running from the Skaian Gate to the plain. A direction farther north would have been too steep. I have so marked it on the plan, Fig. 8.

covered and cleared by Schliemann in 1879 and 1882 (*Troja*, p. 64). A large passage has been driven into the hillside for a distance of eighteen metres, and then divides into three, with a small spring at the head of each. Outside were found basins of Roman date, and inside two conduits, one at a considerably lower level than the other, to feed them. It would seem, therefore, that the spring had been in use for a long time, and was probably reconstructed by the Romans. It is clear that this spot must have been a washing-place from early days, used to spare the precious water within the walls. Similar springs are found on the north side, in the Simois valley; and it is likely enough that they were distinguished as the Simois springs and Scamander springs (ἡμεῖς *Καυάνδρου*) respectively. But there is no difference in temperature between the three sources. This point has been already discussed, and we must be content to take what we find—springs in the exact place where the narrative requires them, and agreeing, in all respects but one, with what we might expect.¹

The views given in Plates XIV. and XV. will make it possible, so far as present conditions admit, to realise the whole scene. Plate XIV. is taken from the top of the high mound, conspicuous in Plate IV., which, if our theory is correct, very nearly coincides with the position of the Great Tower by the Skaian Gate. The direction is S.W.; Besika Bay lies just

¹ Schliemann several times speaks of the springs as 300 yards away from the walls. The actual distance, as shown on Dörpfeld's plan, is hardly more than 150.

PLATE XV.



THE WESTERN PLATEAU OF HISSARLIK FROM THE TRIPLE SPRING.



behind the slight drop in the skyline near the middle. In the distance to the left stretches the "Ileian Plain." A short stretch of the Kalifatli Asmak, covered with ranunculus, is discernible above the two small trees on the right of the centre. At our feet lie, on the right hand, the southern edge of the "Plateau," and on the left a piece of the Mycenaean wall, just where it is weakest. Above the latter, and concealed by the nearest group of three trees, lies the triple spring; in front of the trees is clearly discernible the line of the cart-road.

Plate xv. is taken in the opposite direction. Under the brushwood at the bottom right-hand corner lies the opening of the triple spring. On the skyline in the centre the mound from which xiv. is taken can be made out between the branches of the trees; to the left of it is the nearly horizontal profile of the plateau, well defined against the sky. And across the middle of the picture the cart-road again runs conspicuously.

With these data in our minds, it is possible to follow every step of the story. Hector stands at the foot of the wall, where it approached the edge of the northern scarp; hence he could see his foe approaching. He leans his shield against the jutting tower (xxii. 97) to rest his arm before the actual clash. His father and mother from the wall above try in vain to induce him to enter the gate just beside him. He has the advantage of position, as he stands to await the fight at the top of a slope. But at the

last moment his heart fails, and he turns to run. "Past the outlook (Skopie) and the wind-waved fig-tree sped they ever on, away from under the wall, along the waggon-track, and came to the two fair-flowing fountains, where rise the two springs of eddying Scamander. . . . And there beside the springs are broad washing troughs hard by, fair troughs of stone, where wives and fair daughters of Troy were wont to wash bright raiment, in the old time of peace, before the sons of the Achaians came" (145-156). "But after Hector sped fleet Achilles, chasing him vehemently . . . Oft as he set himself to dart under the well-built walls over against the Dardanian gates, if haply from above they might succour him with darts, so oft would Achilles gain on him and turn him towards the plain, while himself he sped ever on the city-side. . . . But when the fourth time they had reached the springs, then the Father hung his golden balances . . . and Hector's fated day sank down, and fell to the house of Hades, and Phoebus Apollo left him" (188-213).

The triple course round the city is easy even now : it must have been still easier when the neck to the south-east of the fortress was materially lower than it is to-day.¹ That it should be done in full accoutrement after a morning of hard fighting with river gods as well as men raises it to the level of a truly heroic performance. But it is not superhuman, as

¹ It took me less than eleven minutes to walk round, though the path is now somewhat lengthened by the necessity of passing outside some later walls.

would be, for instance, a similar chase round the rock-walls and gorges of the Bally Dagh. In other words, while arousing our admiration, it does not take us outside the region of human sympathy: it is removed as far as West from East from the performances of such a hero as Rustam, which merely raise a smile, so extravagantly are they exaggerated.

The final scene, on the waggon-track by the springs, is visible to-day from the high mound close to which the great tower must have stood. But in the days of the Mycenaean city both houses and fortifications must have cut off the view. Dörpfeld has pointed out that this is entirely consistent with the story of the *Iliad*. It is nowhere said that Priam and Hecuba see the actual death of Hector: it is not till his body has been dragged towards the ships past the western side of the town that they realise what has happened.¹ So that here again we have once more a small touch which makes one realise, as one stands on the spot, so vivid a picture of the whole scene that one is sorely tempted to think of it as a thing that really happened. One thing at least has passed for me beyond all doubt: that the poet who wrote those lines either knew the scene himself, or was following in careful detail a predecessor who had put into living words a tradition founded on real fighting in this very place.

¹ This is clearly brought out by the participle in 407: κώκυον δὲ (Ἐκάβη) μάλα μέγα παῖδ' ἔαθοσα.

CHAPTER V

THE TROAD

The Troad is a fine field for conjecture and anipe-shooting.

—BYRON.

So far we have been dealing with the immediate landscape of Troy. The poet treats it as a matter known to his hearers, and the identification of the different localities which he mentions rests upon incidental allusions, not upon any systematic description. Indeed the one case of systematic description which we have dealt with, that of the two "sources of Scamander," is the one place where we have been constrained to conclude that poetic licence has been seriously overtaxed. Perhaps this fact may lead us to rely the more implicitly on passing allusions where no deliberate purpose, poetical or other, is to be looked for.

But if we now widen our view, and instead of the Plain of Troy take in the Troad as a whole, we find ourselves in possession of a document of a very different order. At the end of the second book of the *Iliad* is the Catalogue of the Trojans. This is evidently meant for a record of fact, and we can

allow in it no room for licence. It is a sort of versified gazetteer of the Troad, and of some of the neighbouring countries; and I propose now to discuss it from this point of view. The present chapter will be devoted to the first portion of it, that which deals with the Troad proper, starting from Troy and ending with the tribes of the Pelasgians, that is from line 816 to 843 of *Il.* ii. The second part, which enumerates the Trojan allies, will be considered separately. In both parts it will be my aim to bring the statements of Homer into relation with geographical facts, and to see what reliance can be placed upon the *Iliad* as the earliest European geographical document. Demetrius of Scepsis, as Strabo tells us with undisguised irony, wrote thirty books on the 62 lines of the Trojan Catalogue. He was a native of the Troad, and wrote, apparently, in order to appropriate to his own country all the sites which were not indubitably fixed elsewhere. We must regret the loss of an enormous amount of local information; but from what Strabo has preserved of his historical arguments, it would not seem that his judgment could have contributed much to science. Yet his example may at least be some excuse for a somewhat lengthy discussion of the material on which he spent so much labour.

The Troad may be defined as the country which is watered from the mountain mass of Ida and its secondary ranges. Bounded on three sides by the sea, it may thus be limited on the east by the valley

of the Aesepus, continued by a line running across the hills to the famous Plain of Thebe in which lay Adramyttium. The range of Ida does not run through the orographic centre of the Troad, which lies at the point where the head-waters of the Scamander, the Granicus, and the Aesepus rise in close proximity ; but it forms a natural barrier stretching nearly due east and west along the southern coast, and reaching the sea on the west a few miles south of the site of Alexandria Troas. Here the bold peak of the Sakar Kaya sends down a ridge to the water's edge, completely severing the western coastal plain. The region lying south of the water-shed from this point eastwards is in many ways quite distinct from the country to the north. We will speak of it as the southern Troad. It will require full discussion later on ; we will first turn to the northern Troad.

This district consists of three main river systems, those of the Scamander, the Granicus, and the Aesepus. Along the shores of the Hellespont lies a region of smaller and shorter streams running down from the hills which extend roughly parallel to the sea at a distance of a few miles. The land is in the main a hilly country, covered with forests of oak and pine, offering a little opportunity for large collections of population. But each of the three rivers possesses alluvial plains of considerable fertility, and large enough to support populous towns. The Scamander has two, or possibly three, such basins. The first

is the Plain of Troy, some nine miles long by two wide. Above the narrow defile by which the river breaks through a range of limestone hills begins the central plain, known to-day as the Plain of Bairamich.¹ This is over eighteen miles in length, and averages some three or four in width. Above it the river again passes through a defile between hills, and again opens out into a plain of more undulating character eight miles long, combining a good deal of agriculture with the forestry which forms its chief industry.

This takes us to the head-waters of the Scamander. The natural passage hence is northwards into hill and forest country, which can never have supported any town population; but immediately to the east, across a range rising to some 3300 ft. above the sea, lies another large plain, fully sixteen miles in length, and varying in width from two to four. This is the upper basin of the Aesepus, now known as the district of Avunia. In addition to forests and agriculture it possesses mines of silver and lead, which were worked in ancient times though they have now fallen out of use. It includes several very considerable villages, and the number of sites known from Strabo to have lain within it shows that in antiquity also it was an important district, though it never seems to have centred in a large town. Below it the Aesepus runs

¹ It is commonly supposed to be the Samonian Plain of Demetrius; Strabo x. 3. 20 *Σαμόνιον . . . πεδίον ἐν τῇ Νεανδρίδι καὶ τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ*. But this must clearly have lain west, not east, of Neandria. Demetrius would be the last man to describe a plain partly belonging to his native Scopsis as "in the territory of Alexandria," which lay far outside it.

for some miles through a narrow valley before entering the lower plains which merge almost insensibly into the great stretch of level country stretching eastward as far as the Rhyndacus. The chief town of the district at the present time is Gönen : in antiquity it would seem that the centre lay rather farther north among the western hills at the town of Zeleia.

Immediately to the west of the Aesepus valley lies the great basin of the Granicus. Unlike the other two rivers, this has no important plains anywhere in its upper course ; here it flows through a country of hills and forests, with scattered villages depending on the cultivation of hillsides. But lower down it has formed the largest plain of the Troad. The modern capital of the district, Bigha, stands over the river where it issues from its hills ; and hence to Karabogha stretches a level alluvial plain of considerable width, on both sides of the river, and westwards along the course of its main affluent, now called the Kara Atli Chai. This district is undulating, but for all practical purposes may be regarded as agricultural plain-land.

The hills which bound this basin to the north and west send down their streams to the Sea of Marmora and the Hellespont. At the mouth of each of the more important of these stands, or stood in ancient times, a landing-place serving for the commerce of its own district, and making up for the smallness of its hinterland by its position on the great highway of traffic along the narrow sea. It will be sufficient

to name here the ports of Parion, Paisos, Lampsacos, and Abydos. The last is really the outlet for the Rhodios valley, the largest of these western secondary streams; its place has now been taken by the modern town of Dardanelles, situated exactly on the mouth of the river, some three miles south of the older town. Lampsakos is still represented by the prosperous village of Lapsaki; but the other sites are insignificant or entirely deserted, since Turkish rule has rendered impossible any thorough culture of the country.

It appears, therefore, that geographical considerations concentrate the population of the northern Troad on a roughly circular line passing up the valley of the Scamander, down that of the Aesepus to the neighbourhood of the sea, across the large plain at the mouth of the Granicus, and hence through the maritime towns along the coast of the Hellespont till we return to our starting-place. It may be taken as evidence of an historical foundation for the Homeric Catalogue that in the enumeration of the tribes of the Troad this path is followed exactly. This we shall now proceed to show by a detailed examination of the first part of the Catalogue.

TROY

We start then from Troy, the home of the Trojans proper, the most numerous and most eager of all the tribes: their leader is Hector (816-818). Their land is bounded to the south by the natural barrier of the

Bally Dagh and Fulu Dagh, each crowned by an ancient, but apparently not prehistoric, fort guarding the ravine through which the Scamander forces its narrow and tortuous way. To the north-east the territory marches with that of Abydos and Arisbe, and its actual boundary is a matter of conjecture; it would seem naturally to lie on the ridge where now stands the village of Eren Kõi, beside the acropolis of the Greek Ophrynion. To the south-west it probably extended to the ridge of the Sakar Kaya, including the whole of the coastal plain on the west as far as this well-marked boundary.

DARDANIA

Above the defile of the Bally Dagh the hills open out into the middle valley of the Scamander. This forms the heart of the Troad. With the exception of the lower basin of the Granicus it is the largest and agriculturally the richest district of the country. It far exceeds the Plain of Troy both in size and natural resources. It is free from the winter inundations of the lower country, and is therefore less malarious. To-day it supports a considerable population, with at least two respectable towns, far in advance of the poor villages which sparsely dot the hills round the Plain of Troy. At the western end, where the Scamander receives a rather large affluent from the south, stands Ezine, probably the most important town in the Troad after Dardanelles and

Edremid. It marks the point where three natural outlets from the plain to the sea diverge, one to the north following the Scamander valley to the Hellespont, another to the west, by a lower and easier path, to the site of Alexandria Troas, and a third southwards to the once important harbour of Assos.

Some thirteen miles farther east, but still only 500 feet above the sea, lies another smaller town, Bairamich, the market centre for the upper part of the plain. Here, again, converge important routes—the easiest passages to the Granicus basin on the north and to the upper Scamander valley and Avunia on the east, and to the south-east the direct pass over the shoulder of Ida to the Plain of Thebe and Adramyttium.

It is noteworthy that neither Ezine nor Bairamich occupies an ancient site of any importance. In classical days the country was divided between small city-states, with their chief towns posted not in the plain but on the loftiest hills in the neighbourhood, till they were all swallowed up by the foundation of Alexandria Troas. Ezine represents the ancient Neandria, on the top of its bold peak a few miles to the south-west, while Bairamich takes the place of two hill-towns, Kebrene on the Chali Dagh to the west, and Scepsis on the Kurshunlu Tepe to the east.¹

This middle plain of the Scamander is the home of the Dardanians and their chief Aeneas. “The

¹ It may perhaps be the ancient Berytos or Birytos, known only from a few bronze coins and the Attic tribute-lists.

gallant son of Anchises led the Dardanians, even Aeneas whom Aphrodite bore to Anchises, a goddess wedded to a mortal amid the spurs of Ida" (819-823). The valley is, in fact, "amid the spurs of Ida," which rises immediately above it to a height of 5000 feet on the south. Here—not far therefore from his home—Aeneas was feeding his flocks when Achilles all but caught him, and chased him from the summer pastures on the grassy slopes of the mountain shoulder, southwards to the city of Lyrnessos; an incident which we shall have to discuss in greater detail later on (*Il.* xx. 188-191).

The position of Dardania is clearly indicated in a well-known passage (*Il.* xx. 215-218). "First Zeus the cloud-gatherer begat Dardanos, and he established Dardania: for not yet was holy Ilios built upon the plain to be a city of mortal men, but still they dwelt on the slopes of many-fountained Ida." It is curious that in the face of these words another city of Dardanos, on the shore of the Hellespont, and only a few miles north-east of Troy, should have put forward a claim to be the ancient home of Dardanos, the spot where he landed in his legendary voyage from Samothrace. What may be the origin and meaning of that legend we have not here to inquire. It is sufficient for our purpose that there is no allusion either to the town or the legend in Homer, and that the position of Dardania on the shores of the Hellespont is decisively excluded by the phrase just quoted. For by no possible use of words could a city so situated

be contrasted with Troy as "on the slopes of Ida," in distinction from "a city in the plain." If we enlarge the "slopes of Ida" to include the lower foothills of the Troad, then Troy is as much on the slopes of Ida as the historic Dardanos; if we take the words "in the plain" literally, then Dardanos, on the sea-shore, is as much in the plain as Troy. But if we take them in their natural and obvious sense, then the Dardania to which tradition points is as truly among the hills of Ida as Troy is in the plain. There can be no doubt that Strabo attaches the name of Dardania to this district: the terms of calculated contempt in which he speaks of the city of Dardanos are evidently designed to dismiss its claim to a hoary antiquity as unworthy of discussion or even mention. We shall find traces of a similar attitude when we come to Arisbe, another town with a claim to the legend of Aeneas. In both cases it is evidently derived from Demetrius, who would hear of no rival to his native Scepsis. It would appear indeed, from Strabo xiii. i. 33, that Demetrius, in order to account for the traditional enmity between Scepsis and the neighbouring Kebrene, extended the realm of Priam along the southern part of the plain as far as the latter city, reserving for Aeneas and his Dardanians only the upper portion, from Scepsis to the north and east. Such a division is in itself unlikely; and the real explanation of the enmity of the two towns is probably to be sought elsewhere. Scepsis, it would seem, was first founded by immigrants from Avunia,

the upper basin of the Aesepus, who were thrust across the intervening ridge under pressure from the post-Homeric invasion of Thracians, and filched from Kebrene the eastern portion of its domain. This question, however, must be reserved for fuller discussion elsewhere.

It is clear that the Homeric Dardania was not a town, as some have supposed, but a district inhabited by dwellers in villages. This is the natural condition of a fertile plain lying far from the sea, and protected from invaders as well as pirates by mountains and hill-country on every side. It is further indicated by the words of Homer, who speaks of Dardania as "colonised" (κτίσει δὲ Δαρδανίην), while the different status of "holy Ilios" as a town is doubly insisted upon (ἐν πεδίῳ πεδῆστο, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων). The distinction is real and essential, marking a great step in economic progress.

THE AESEpus VALLEY

From Bairamich a path leads through the upper basin of the Scamander, across the high wooded ridge of the Gülgen Dagh, directly into the valley of the Aesepus. Along this the Catalogue takes us.

"And of them that dwelt in Zeleia beneath the nethermost foot of Ida, the men of substance that drink the dark waters of Aesepos, even the Troes; of these Lykaon's glorious son was leader, Pandaros, to whom Apollo himself gave the bow" (824-7).

Zeleia, the chief town of the valley, retained its name in historical times, though its only appearance on the stage of history was when it served as the headquarters of the Persians before the battle of the Granicus. It lay, as is proved by the evidence of inscriptions, as well as by the distances given by Strabo, on the site of the present Sary Kõi, 80 stades (9 miles) from the sea, from which it is cut off by a low range of hills through which the Aesepus cuts a sinuous course. Its position commands the natural outlet westwards of the low country of Daskylitis, the fertility of which is extolled by Xenophon and Catullus.¹ Hence must have come the wealth of the Zeleians. This low country—its principal lake, the Manyas Göl, is only 40 feet above the sea—limits the spurs which run down direct to it from the top of Ida, “under the nethermost foot” of which the city is, with all exactness, said to lie.

It must be noted in passing that the inhabitants, here called Troes, like the people of Troy itself, are in the fifth book of the *Iliad* consistently named Lykians—a title which is evidently connected with the name of Lykaon here. No conclusion can be drawn from this as to any tribal connection with the Lykians far away to the south. It is quite possible that the name in both cases is Greek, not native. We know that the inhabitants of Lykia called themselves Tremilae or Termilae, not Lykians. The Greeks may

¹ Xen. *Hell.* iv. 1. 15; Catullus, xlvi. 5.

have named both from the worship of Apollo, with whom the family of Pandaros is so emphatically connected; whether Apollo "Lykios" is a wolf-god or a light-god, his title is in all probability purely Greek.

A further curious question arises in connexion with the tribal name of these people. Homer calls them ἀφνειοί, which is naturally taken to be the common adjective "wealthy." But the lake of Manyas close by was named, as we know from Strabo, Aphnitis.¹ This cannot but suggest the possibility that Aphneioi was a local name, and not originally an epithet. The alternative, that the lake was called Aphnitis because Homer called the Zeleians wealthy, is not to be entertained. Strabo apparently regards the name as tribal.² The question is not one which can be decided in the absence of other evidence; but we may be sure that to the hearers of Homer, with the possible exception of a few among the learned, the word was understood to mean "wealthy" and nothing more.

It will be noticed that the Catalogue makes no separate mention of the upper basin of the Aesepus, the district of Avunia, distinct though it is from the plain on the edge of which Zeleia lay. There is, however, no reason to doubt that it was inhabited by the same tribe as that which possessed the lower course of the river, all alike being included among

¹ See Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 46; and for Zeleia, p. 101.

² τούτους δὲ ἐκάλεσεν καὶ Λυκίους· Ἀφνειοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀφνήτιδος νομίζουσι Λίμνης· καὶ γὰρ οὕτω καλεῖται ἡ Δασκυλίτις.—xiii. 1. 9.

the men "that drink the dark waters of Aesepus." As in modern days, it did not probably contain any important town; and it is so completely cut off from access to the sea, that it must at all times have been dependent upon its neighbours either to north or south. It is evident that in Homeric days its relations were to the north, as might be expected, while the pressure of immigration was still from Thrace. The highlands to the south formed a natural barrier behind which, as we shall see, the Kilikes of the plain of Thebe held their own. In later days, when this pressure had been removed, Avunia found its commercial outlet southwards, where the sea was nearest, and in the time of Pliny this isolated enclave belonged to the conventus of Adramyttium.¹

ZELEIA TO LAMPSAKOS

The valley of the Aesepus forms the eastern frontier of the Troad proper; we now therefore turn westward, following the shore of the Propontis.

"And of them that possessed Adresteia and the land of Apaisos and possessed Pityeia and the steep hill of Tereia, of these Adrestos was captain, and Amphios of the linen corslet, the two sons of Merops of Perkote" (828-834).

Adresteia is, according to Strabo—and there is no reason for doubting the identification—the plain

¹ Pliny, *N.H.* v. 138, where the Polichnaei at least are from Avunia; Strabo xiii. 1. 52.

which lies at the mouth of the Granicus. On the hills which bounded the plain to the north, between Priapos and Parion, lay a city also called Adresteia.¹

This large plain must in ancient times have been far more populous and important than it is at the present day. Land apparently rich now lies waste; and the possibilities of its future are indicated by the fact that within the last thirty years the population of the whole district has been quadrupled by the settlement of refugees from other parts of Turkey. It is a plain rich in cereals, of which a considerable proportion is even now exported; and it must have been one of the granaries of the ancient Troad. In all probability it was a country of many villages; and not until maritime relations became important is it likely that the population was concentrated in its port of Priapus. The view given in Plate XVI. A is taken from a point near the probable scene of the battle of the Granicus. The river itself, invisible between its steep banks, crosses the picture just behind the camels. In the background is seen the gap in the hills through which the Aesepus enters the plain; Bigha lies on the slopes in front of it.

Crossing the hills which bound this plain on the west, we notice that no mention is made of Parion, important though it was in later times. We pass farther west to Apaisos, known also as Paisos both to Homer (*Il.* v. 612) and afterwards. It receives a passing mention in Herodotus (v. 117); but in

¹ Strabo xiii. 1. 13; Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 95.

PLATE XVI.



A. THE PLAIN OF ADRESTEIA, LOOKING S.



B. THE CITADEL OF PAISOS.



Strabo's day it had been dismantled and its inhabitants transferred to Lampsakos. Its citadel can still be identified in the Fanous Hill of the charts—a small rocky promontory marked by the tower of a now abandoned lighthouse, and overlooking a pretty riverside plain watered by the willow-edged stream of the Bairam Chai (Plate XVI. B).

Of the next name on our list, Pityeia, Strabo speaks thus: "Pityeia is in Pityus, in the territory of Parion, lying under a hill shaped like a pine tree (πινυῶδες): it lies between Parion and Priapos, in the direction of Linon, a place on the seashore where are found the Linusian cockles, the best of all."

With all deference, this identification is far from convincing. No such place appears in history; and the fact that Strabo knows nothing of it except that it is in the direction of a more famous spot—famous, if only for cockles—is in itself not likely to confirm our faith. It is true that there is between Kamaraes and Karaboga—Parion and Priapos—a bay called Shah Melik Liman, with "the little village of Aksas"; but that there ever was a Greek town there seems very unlikely. "Anchorage can be found in the bay and protected landing, but the N.E. wind brings a good deal of swell into the anchorage. Behind Shah Melik Liman the country is hilly and uncultivated, with a good deal of brushwood cover."¹ The spot is not one which would tempt early navigators.

The site might pass muster for want of a better;

¹ *Black Sea Pilot*, p. 68.

but there is no want of a better. We have been passing from east to west, and we should naturally expect Pityeia to lie west of Paisos, not east, as Strabo puts it. And in fact just west of Paisos there is, if not a Pityeia, a Pityussa—a name so like as to be well within the limits of variation of proper names. Pityussa is, according to tradition, the older name of Lampsakos itself. It is hardly necessary to say that Lampsakos affords all the attractions which Shah Melik Liman lacks; this is sufficiently attested by its historical importance. It was famous in ancient days for its wine, and even now “quantities of vegetable produce, besides cattle, sheep, and wine for Constantinople, are exported . . . Good anchorage may be obtained in Lampsaki bays . . . Slack water, or an eddy current, never very strong, will be found, and vessels are well protected from the swell from the sea of Marmora” (*B.S.P.* p. 56). The considerable modern village, apparently thriving though not attractive, stands at the mouth of a valley which, among other products, supplies marble from conspicuous quarries seaming the hills at its head with bright streaks of white. It has daily communication with Gallipoli by ferry-boat, and may be said to possess a double harbour; for just to the north of it, and too near to be independent, lies the long sand-spit of Chardak, the ancient Abarnis, enclosing a great space of shallow lagoon, valuable as an anchorage for boats of little draught.

The authority for Pityussa or Pityoessa as the

original name of Lampsakos is the historian Charon, himself a native of Lampsakos, and an older contemporary of Herodotus; and the name forms the sting of Croesus' threat to "wipe out Lampsakos like a pine-tree," *πίτυος τρόπον*—though Herodotus, oddly enough, while telling the story (vi. 37), seems to have missed the point. Our Pityeia was in fact identified with Lampsakos in ancient times; for the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (i. 933) says "Lampsakos was formerly called Pityeia, or, as others make it, Pitya. Some say that Phrixos stored his treasure here, and that the city was called after it, for the Thracian for 'treasure' is *pitye*. Homer also mentions the place" (quoting our line). We need not hesitate to take this authority, with all the probabilities in its favour, against Strabo.

The hill under which lies Strabo's Pityeia, and which he says is "like a pine-tree," still bears the name of Cham Tepe, Pine-tree Hill. This to be taken as evidence not of a survival of the ancient name, but of the probability that such a name may be given to many places in this country of pine-trees. There is many a Cham Tepe in the Troad now, and it is likely enough that there may have been as many insignificant places in ancient days bearing the name of Pityeia. It may be added that the resemblance of this Cham Tepe to a pine-tree, so far as my personal observation went, means no more than that the hill slopes gently up to a rounded top.

The "steep hill of Tereia" we cannot pretend to

recognise. Strabo mentions two claimants for the honour. One was in the territory of Cyzicus, outside the Troad, and may be dismissed at once. The other was a hill "forty stades from Lampsakos, on which is a temple dedicated to the Mother of the Gods, by the title of Tereia." This may or may not be right; the situation of course suits the requirements of the text exactly, but there appears to be no independent evidence of such a sanctuary or divine title, and Strabo himself clearly has not much faith in it.

LAMPSAKOS TO ARISBE

"They that dwelt about Perkote and the Praktios and possessed Sestos and Abydos and bright Arisbe, these were led of Hyrtakos, son of Asios, a prince of men—Asios son of Hyrtakos, whom his tall sorrel steeds brought from Arisbe, from the river Selleis" (835-9).

We have already heard of Perkote; the district of Adresteia, Paisos, and Pityeia, which we have just left, was ruled by the two sons of Merops of Perkote. There was then the closest connexion between the different parts of this coast. It will be noticed that no tribal name has been mentioned at all since we left the Troes of the Aesepus valley; it would seem that all these places are reckoned to the Trojans, and indeed throughout the *Iliad*, with the exception of the Lycians of Pandaros, we hear of no division of tribes in the Troad beyond the "Trojans and

Dardanians" who are opposed to the allies; Aeneas the Dardanian chief is himself a near relation of the Trojan king. It would seem, therefore, that we have to deal with a practically homogeneous population. If it should be suggested that all these towns along the coast from Adresteia to Abydos are in fact Dardanian, and that we may thus explain the occurrence of the name of Dardanus for a Hellespontine city, I do not know that any definite objection can be raised to the conjecture, save that it appears to give the lion's share of population to the Dardanians, whereas the Catalogue has distinctly told us that the Trojans were the most numerous.

Strabo (xiii. 1. 20) speaking of Perkote, Arisbe, and the river Selleis says, "these places are so obscure that inquirers do not agree about them except that they are in the neighbourhood of Abydos, Lampsakos, and Parion." This is a curious statement, as there is but little doubt of the position of all three. The river Praktios at all events is located by Strabo, and is recognised in history. It is the modern Bergaz Chai which drains the rich valley of Bergaz. Strabo indeed places it at 300 stades from Parion, which overstates the distance, but this is not the only instance in which he gives incorrect measurements in this region; for instance, he says that Abydos is 170 stades from Lampsakos and Ilion, whereas the actual distance in each case is 140. We need not then be surprised to find, by measurement of the chart, that the mouth of the

Praktios is nearer 240 than 300 stades from Parion by sea.¹

That Perkote lay in this valley is certain; its probable position was at the modern Erdagh, some distance up the valley. Here there are considerable ruins dating from Mycenaean times—almost the only remains of that period yet found, save at Hissarlik, in the whole Troad. At a later time a new Perkote was founded farther down the valley, and we find from the Attic tribute-lists of 425 B.C. (*C.I.A.* i. 37. 226 ff., iv. 1. 272 B) that the two towns of Perkote and Palaiperkote were in existence together and paid separate tributes. Whether the later Perkote lay on the north or the south side of the valley is uncertain, and does not greatly concern us. Kiepert put it on the north side, where it is stated that some ancient remains still exist; but Judeich² has since been unable to verify their existence, and thinks that a more likely site is on the south of the valley where the modern village of Bergaz now stands.

Arrian (i. 12) tells us that at Perkote Alexander ended his second march from Abydos. Next day he passed Lampsakos and encamped "by the river Praktios, which flows from the hills of Ida and empties into the sea between the Hellespont and the Euxine"

¹ Dörpfeld suggests that Strabo may here be quoting from a source which used an older stade of 179 yards instead of the later stade of 210 (see *Ath. Mitt.* xv. 178).

² Bericht über eine Reise im nordwestl. Kleinasien (*Sitzb. d. k. pr. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin*, 1898), p. 546.

—a rather odd description, by the way. Its position is better defined by Herodotus (v. 117) who places it between Abydos and Lampsakos.¹

We learn from Steph. Byz. that Perkote was also known by the name of Perkope, and in this form it appears in Xenophon (*Hell.* v. 1. 25) in an episode which sufficiently fixes its site in the Bergaz valley. In 387 B.C. an Athenian squadron was blockading Abydos and some Spartan ships. Antalkidas marched in by land, embarked, and hurried off by night with the ships, spreading a rumour that he had been sent for to Kalchedon; but he went only as far as Perkope, where he anchored and lay hid. The Athenians started in chase, but hastened past without observing him. The chart will show that the only point to the north of Abydos where ships could anchor well out of the fair-way and hidden by land from pursuers to the south is in the bay at the mouth of the Bergaz river. According to the *Black Sea Pilot* (p. 55), this bay “makes a good stopping-place for the night, the holding ground being good.”

The bay was also a harbour in Homeric times; for in *Il.* xi. 229 Iphidamas, coming from Thrace to Troy, “left his ships in Perkote” and went on to Troy by land. Evidently therefore, wherever the actual town of Perkote was, the name covered the

¹ So also Skylax, 94; Ap. Rhod. ix. 932; Pliny, v. 32. According to Athenaeus (i. p. 29) and Plutarch (*Themist.* xxix. 10) this was one of the towns given by the Persians to Themistokles, and with Palaiskepsis supplied him with bedding and clothing. One would be inclined to think that Palaiskepsis is a mistake here for Palaiperkote.

whole of the lower part of the valley down to the sea. The Bergaz Chai is a considerable stream, which in modern times has received the honour of two if not three stone bridges. All of these it has succeeded in sweeping away during winter floods. Of two only the abutments in the steep bank are left, while of the third the ruined piers still encumber the river bed, picturesquely enough.¹ They have been succeeded by a light wooden bridge for foot-passengers only, the stream being at ordinary times fordable for wheeled vehicles. The river enters the plain through a defile unsuitable for the passage of troops, and affording no camping ground. When Arrian tells us, therefore, that Alexander passed Lampsakos and then encamped by the Praktios, we clearly see that after crossing the river at its mouth he proceeded up the coast till he reached Lampsakos, and thence turning inland, crossed the hills into the upper basin of the Praktios, which is open and affords abundant camping ground.²

Perkote and the Praktios are followed by the inseparable pair, Sestos and Abydos—inseparable in history as in legend. At Sestos we pass for a moment into Europe, to return again at once to Asia. The fact has caused surprise, and a good deal of baseless conjecture; but a moment's thought will explain it.

The two towns provided the main passage in early days from Thrace to Asia Minor. The Bosphorus seems hardly to have competed with them. Even

¹ Plate xvii.

² Janke, *Auf Alexanders des grossen Pfaden*, p. 129.

PLATE XVII.



THE RIVER PRAKTIOS (BERGAZ ÇAYI).



Darius, though he bridged the Bosphorus for his invasion of Scythia, is recorded by Herodotus to have returned by Sestos—and that without a word of explanation, as though it were a matter of course. Xerxes chose this route for his invasion of Greece, Alexander for his invasion of Persia, the Turks for the invasion of Europe. It is highly probable that the tribes of the Troad had themselves used this crossing from Thrace to the home where we find them. The northern pressure still continued in their time, for after the Homeric age the Bithynians invaded Asia. It was essential for self-defence that the Trojans should guard this one weak point on their northern frontier, or they in their turn might be dispossessed by fresh invaders, as happened in fact to their neighbours the Phrygians.

Why this point should have been, for practical purposes, the only one at which crossing was possible is a question which raises so many problems that it will be better to reserve it for a separate discussion, which will be found in Chap. VIII.

The excursion to Sestos has taken us only a mile out of Asia into Europe. We return at once to Asia, landing in the harbour of Abydos just south of Nagara point. This site is so well known and clearly defined that we need stay there no longer; but can pass at once to Arisbe and the river Selleis—the two names which seem especially to be pointed at when Strabo speaks of sites so obscure as to be a matter of dispute among inquirers. Of the river this is

probably true ; the name appears never to occur again in history, and as we shall presently see, a confident identification is even now impossible. But Arisbe plays a modest part both in history and legend, and its position can be defined within very narrow limits. Stephanus Byzantinus tells us that it is "a city of the Troad, a colony of Miletus. It lies between Perkote and Abydos." This leaves no doubt of its position in the one valley which lies between the Bergaz Chai and Abydos, only five miles due east of the latter. This is not so rich or well cultivated as that of Bergaz ; near the sea it is marshy, with at least one large lagoon. Further inland the ground rises somewhat ; part is under cultivation, but much is covered by trees. The most definite reference to it in history is in the story of Alexander's great invasion of Asia. While Parmenion was bringing the army across from Sestos to Abydos, Alexander made his famous pilgrimage to Troy. Thence, Arrian says, he came to Arisbe, where all his force was encamped after the passage of the Hellespont. For such an encampment the plain is admirably suited. Later on, during the time of the Second Punic War, Polybius (v. 3) tells us that it was captured by the Gauls. It was a living town also in the fifth century B.C., for it is named in the Attic lists as a tributary. It existed even into Byzantine times, for it is mentioned in the *Acta S. Parthenii Lampsaceni*.¹ In the face of this long, if

¹ *Acta SS.* 7 Feb. II. p. 220, Ἀρίσβη ἢ κατὰ Ἄβυδον (I quote from Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie von Kleinasien*, Wien, 1891, p. 15).

humble, existence it is strange that Strabo should speak of it as an unknown place.

The explanation is probably to be found in his authority, Demetrius of Scepsis, whom he appears to follow as usual with the blindness arising from his personal ignorance of the district. Arisbe had a legendary history, as we learn from Stephanus; "the founders of it were Skamandrios and Askanios son of Aeneas. Kephalon says that Dardanos came to the Troad from Samothrace and married Arisba, daughter of Teukros the Cretan. Hellanikos calls her Bateia . . . but Ephoros makes her a descendant of Merops and the first wife of Alexandros, son of Priam." The connexion of the town with Aeneas gives rise to its mention by Virgil (*Aen.* ix. 264), *pocula devincta genitor quae cepit Arisba*. Servius gives another version of the legend in his notes on this passage. Now the legend of the foundation of the town by Skamandrios and Askanios absolutely clashes with the tradition of Demetrius's own town of Scepsis, which claimed to be the realm of these very princes. One cannot but feel more than a suspicion that Demetrius out of local pride did his best to crush the rival, and perhaps more generally recognised, pretensions of Arisbe, by going as near as possible to denying its very existence. He seems to have taken the same course with regard to the neighbouring town of Dardanos, to which we shall presently return.

The position of Arisbe in this plain is probably marked by a tumulus lying not far from the present

carriage road, or rather waggon track. Some excavations have been made here, and it is said that good Hellenic vases have been found and transferred to the museum at Constantinople. With the site thus closely fixed it should not be difficult to identify the river Selleis. But, unfortunately, there are two claimants to the title between which it is by no means easy to decide. Two streams, both of them small and ceasing to run in summer, water the north and south sides of the plain respectively. That on the south is called the Moussa Kõi Chai, from a village lying a little higher up on the hills; the northern brook is called the Yapildak Chai. Both, when we crossed them, were some eight to ten feet broad and hardly anywhere six inches deep. The Yapildak Chai appears to have somewhat the longer course, and receives the name of Selleis in Kiepert's map.¹ Between the two lies a considerable lagoon which may possibly at one time have been the common mouth of the two rivers; a change of bed in this alluvial delta is not, I fancy, inconceivable, and the Homeric name may have been given to this common stream.

Arisbe is twice again mentioned in Homer. In *Il.* xxi. 43 Lykaon, when redeemed from slavery in Imbros, is sent home to Troy by way of Arisbe; in order to avoid the Achaian camp he is evidently passed by the north of the Chersonese to Sestos, and crosses the Hellespont at this point. And again in

¹ See Plate xviii.

PLATE XVIII.



THE YAPILDAK CHAI (RIVER SELLEIS?).



Il. vi. 13 we hear of the hospitable Axylos from Arisbe, ἄξιλος ἐνὶ οὐκία ναίων. The phrase must surely refer to the fact that Arisbe lay on the trade road, which must at all times have followed the coast north-eastwards from Abydos to Lampsakos.

We have now followed the whole coast of the northern Troad and returned almost to our starting point in the Plain of Troy. Between Abydos and the Troad there is only one site which we might have expected to find mentioned—that of the ancient Dardanos. This lay on a suitable rocky plateau at the mouth of the valley next south of the river Rhodios, which must have run through the territory of Abydos. Dardanos itself did not fail to lay claim to an antiquity even greater than that of Troy, as being the foundation and home of the Dardanos who was the ultimate ancestor of the Trojan royal family. This probably accounts for the scornful way in which Strabo speaks of it (c. 28): “an ancient settlement, but so contemptible that the kings (of Pergamon) first transplanted it to Abydos, and then brought it back to its ancient site.” Demetrius of Scepsis could not of course allow the claims of any town outside his own Dardania, in the Scamander valley, to be the home of the founder of the race. In this case at least we may allow that he had Homeric authority on his side; it is at least probable that no town existed here before the days of Greek colonisation, when defensible sites on the shore took the place of the older hill towns.

We conclude therefore that the territories of

Abydos and Arisbe marched with those of Troy itself, the natural boundary lying along the high ridge which ends steeply in the Hellespont, just beneath the ancient Ophrynon, the modern Eren Köi. We have thus completed our circuit of the northern Troad. We cannot but recognise its complete agreement with geographical facts. The enumeration has proceeded exactly along the lines on which must always have lain the population of the country; and it has done so in correct geographical order. Moreover, it is hardly the line which would have been taken by anyone who was not personally acquainted with the Troad. It does not agree with the conditions holding at any time after the Greek colonisation, when the large towns were on the seashore and the inland country was comparatively unknown. It therefore presents all the appearance of a genuine document handed down in some way from pre-Hellenic times.

THE SOUTHERN TROAD

We have not, however, completed the survey of the ancient Troad. There still remains the remarkable and interesting district which we have called the southern Troad; and corresponding to this there are four more lines of the Catalogue, 840-3, which we have not yet located. They are as follows:—

“And Hippothoos led the tribes of the Pelasgians that fight with spears, them that inhabited deep-soiled Larisa. These were led of Hippothoos and

Pylaios of the stock of Ares, twain sons of Pelasgian Lethos, son of Teutamos.”

It is natural to suppose that this refers to the district of the southern Troad. In order to satisfy ourselves of the correctness of this equation, we must first consider more closely the character of the southern Troad itself.

It is a long and narrow district, including on the east the plain where stood the ancient Adramyttium and where stands the modern Edremid—the plain which in ancient times was known as the Plain of Thebe. Thence it stretches westward along the coast and the southern slopes of Ida, until the high range forks nearly north of the modern villages of Papasli and Narli. One ridge forms the southern boundary of the Scamander valley, running through the modern village or town of Aivajik, and reaching the sea just beneath the bold peak of the Sakar Kaya, whose western prolongation divides the coastal plain of the western shore. A few miles south of this another ridge runs close to the shore of the Gulf of Adramyttium, ending at Cape Lekton, now called Baba Burnu. Between the two there flows a considerable river valley following a curious course. It is some 25 miles in length, but the stream is never more than six or eight miles from the Gulf of Adramyttium, and at one spot approaches to within a mile of the shore, thence striking north-westward again to fall finally into the Aegean Sea, about nine miles north of Cape Lekton. This unusual course is due to a volcanic

range of geologically late date, running eastward from Cape Lekton with a steep scarp towards the sea. It is at first a lofty plateau reaching in parts a height of some 1600 feet; but at the point where the river comes closest to the sea it falls to a comparatively low neck, some 300 to 400 feet in height. Just below this neck lies the central river basin of the stream; above and below it runs through narrow defiles. Its upper course forms a considerable and rich valley, now called the Plain of Aivajik; while the lower spreads out into a large alluvial plain, enriched not only by a deep and fertile soil but by the natural salt-works which lie on its eastern side and gave it in antiquity the name of the Halesian Plain.

For the central and upper plains, and for all traffic from the Scamander valley, the natural outlet to the sea is across the low and narrow neck which has been mentioned; and to command the commerce through this important gate arose in ancient times the city of Assos, strongly posted on a bold volcanic cone which effectually commands the passage to the sea from the river. Under the foot of Assos too passed the road which led along the coast from the east, and then continued along the slopes of the volcanic plateau till it could conveniently strike down to the Halesian Plain and reach the sea on the west. Assos thus stood at the junction of the two great cross-roads of the district, from north to south between the sea and the Scamander valley, and from east to west between Adramyttium and the Aegean.

PLATE XIX.



THE HILL OF ANTANDROS FROM THE SCALA OF AVJILAR.



The district is very clearly cut off from its neighbours. All round the Plain of Thebe lie bare and lofty highland plateaux hardly passable in winter. The summit of Ida itself is covered for several months with many feet of snow, and while this lies deep no passage is possible east of the bridle-path which leads northwards from Narli to Bairamich. Westward of this point communications by Aivajik are said to be possible throughout the winter ; but the natural road from Assos to the north is rather by the Halesian Plain and the level coast-road running by the site of Alexandria Troas. Even from the south the district is isolated for a considerable part of the year. The north and north-east winds, the Etesian gales, begin in June, and thereafter blow with increasing violence during the summer, making access by boat from the south more and more difficult. The American expedition to Assos reports that in 1881 by the 27th July all connexion with the island of Lesbos was thus severed ;¹ so that the district is cut off from the north in the depth of winter and from the south in the height of summer. These geographical conditions make unity in an east and west direction a natural necessity of the southern Troad.

It will readily be understood, and it is very obvious to anyone who has been through the country, that this territory forms a natural whole, and is sharply distinguished from the northern Troad. The southern slopes of Ida enjoy a far more equable climate than

¹ *Report*, i. p. 20.

the northern. The central Troad forms essentially part of the great Central Asian highlands. The winters are severe; snow often lies deep, and even near the sea in the Plain of Troy itself 15° to 20° (F.) of frost are commonly experienced. It is, indeed, not at all unusual for even the largest streams to be frozen over. But along the southern coast severe frost is a rarity, and snow never lies. Hence the olive, which maintains only a scattered and precarious footing in the northern Troad, forms the wealth of the southern, and great olive groves cover all the narrow coast-line under the summits of Ida. Quantities of oil are exported to Italy, and much, no doubt, reaches more western markets under the brands of Lucca and Bari. In ancient days the whole district was famous for its fertility; about midway, a little east of Assos, lay Gargara, the very synonym of abundance. It is not necessary to do more here than quote Aristophanes' *παμμακροτάρα* (*Ach.* 3) and Virgil's *ipsa suas mirantur Gargara messis* (*Georg.* i. 103). Other even more extravagant encomia will be found collected by Thacher Clarke in his article on Gargara in *Am. Jour. Arch.* iv. 3.

At the level where the olive ceases¹ begins the other great natural treasure of the land, the pine forest, which clothes continuously the upper hills. The piracy which was rife all along the coast even in the last half century has driven all the villages up to the hillsides, away from the dangers of sudden

¹ The upper limit, near Zeitinli, is 500-600 feet above the sea.

PLATE XX.



THE DERVENT (PASS) AT THE FOOT OF THE HILL OF ANTANDROS.



raids. But each of them has its own little landing-place or *scala*, generally provided with a wooden pier. Here are heaped up the planks and logs from *Ida*, to be shipped whenever the weather is fine enough for the coasting *kaiks* to lie alongside; and to these is carried down the charcoal burnt from the dwarf oak scrub which clothes the hills wherever the pines have been cut away. The heedless forestry of the Turks makes these waste spaces lamentably common.

The centre of the timber trade lies at the *scala* of *Avjilar*, on the site of the ancient *Antandros*, where *Aeneas* built the ships which carried him from *Troas* to *Italy*.¹ Here a steep hill comes right down to the sea; the road is carried past it in a cutting, apparently artificial, at the water's edge. *Antandros* was thus marked out by nature for an important stronghold of the district second only to *Assos*; those who held it were in a position to bar completely all traffic from east to west. Beyond these two commanding positions must have lain two towns at the extreme ends of the district, in the fertile plains of *Halesion* and *Adramyttium*.

The four lines of the Homeric Catalogue which we have referred to this district are extremely brief; they contain only two tangible expressions which can guide us in the identification. But these are, at all events, significant. We have first the name of the town of *Larisa*, described as "deep-soiled"; and we have further the quite unique expression "tribes of

¹ *Aen.* iii. 5.

the Pelasgians." Larisa, as we shall see presently, is the town at the northern end of the Halesian Plain, guarding the road northwards to Troy. And the words "tribes of the Pelasgians" imply several tribes bound together into some unity, whether political or racial. If, therefore, it can be shown that the southern Troad was inhabited by various tribes whose natural issue towards the seat of the Trojan War was through Larisa, we shall have to admit that the words, however summary, are at least an expressive compendium for the whole of the district. We might paraphrase somewhat in the following words: "Hippochoos led the Pelasgian confederacy, whose capital was deep-soiled Larisa."

We will first deal with the site of Larisa itself. This was an historical town, and can be located, if not absolutely without doubt, at least within very narrow limits. The most probable identification is that of Mr. Calvert, who places it at Liman Tepe. I quote his words from the *Archaeological Journal* (xviii. 1861, p. 253). "This hillock, situated a few hundred yards from the beach, and bearing about W.N.W. (S.S.E. ?) from Tenedos, is flat topped and partly artificial, and is comprised in the narrow belt of oolitic formation which fringes almost the entire length of the Hellespont on the Asiatic side, as well as the Aegean Sea down to Cape Lecton. . . . Some foundations of buildings and the usual fragments of black glazed pottery are the only remains that mark the site of Larissa, whose proximity to the

modern village of Kiossederesi has conducted, as in too many similar instances, to their annihilation. The town appears to have been but of small extent, occupying the summit of the hill, which measures about 320 paces by 350, extending from its base to the north as far as the bay or harbour from which the site takes its modern name, and in a S. or S.E. direction. The harbour is still used at the present day as a place for shipping the produce brought down from the interior."

This site fully satisfies every mention of the town in literature. Strabo gives its distance from Troy as 200 stades. This is exactly correct for Liman Tepe. He twice (ix. 5. 19; xiii. 3. 2) calls it Larisa "by Hamaxitos." The site of Hamaxitos is just north of Cape Lekton; Liman Tepe is about six miles from it. He speaks of it again (xiii. 1. 49) in connexion with Kolonai, Chrysa, and Hamaxitos. The site of Kolonai has been sufficiently identified by Calvert at Beshik Tepe, about three miles south of Alexandria Troas. Larisa was so near the sea as to serve as a landmark for sailors: in Thucydides (viii. 101) Mindaros, on his journey from Chios to Abydos, sails past "Lekton and Larisa and Hamaxitos"; again, in Xenophon (*Hell.* iii. 1. 17), Derkyllidas begins his lightning conquest of the Troad by landing on the west coast and taking Larisa, Hamaxitos, and Kolonai in one day. Skylax enumerates the towns of the west coast in the order, "Kolonai, Larisa, Hamaxitos, and the temple of Apollo" (*i.e.*

the Sminthion at Chrysa); and Athenaeus (ii. 43 A.) says "some salt springs are hot by nature, as . . . near Tragasai in the Trojan Larisa."¹ Tragasai is certainly identical with the hot brine springs of Tuzla.

The road from Alexandria Troas to the salt-springs turns away from the coast near Kösse Deressi; and we thus missed the actual site of Larisa when passing in 1911. Our gendarme, a highly intelligent man, knew the coast particularly well, as he had been engaged in patrolling it during the war with Greece in 1897. He did not know, however, of the name Liman Tepe, and assured us that the only liman (harbour) in the neighbourhood was Ak Liman, the site of Hamaxitos. It is therefore impossible for me to identify Calvert's site with absolute confidence, as we could not afford the time necessary for searching the whole coast. But his description leaves little doubt that he refers to the saddle-shaped hillock visible on the sea-line in the appended plate, No. XXI. The view is taken from the edge of the hills on which the village of Kulakli stands, and shows the lower part of the Halesian Plain. The hill in the distance on the right is the ridge of the Sakar Kaya to which reference has frequently been made, and Tenedos, with its little conical hill, is on the left.

The only alternative site which is at all defensible is the village of Kösse Deressi, some two miles north-east of Liman Tepe. The claims of this village are

¹ The reading is, unfortunately, not certain: καὶ περὶ Τραγασὸς τὰς ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ Λαρίσσι, al. τὰ τ' ἐν.

PLATE XXI.



PART OF THE HALESIAN PLAIN, WITH THE SITE OF LARISA.
Tenedos in the Distance.



supported by Schliemann (*Troja*, p. 312), but it does not suit the condition that Larisa must be a landmark for those sailing along the coast. The village lies in a nook in the hills, and is hardly, if at all, visible from ships.¹ But although it cannot have been the Hellenic Larisa, it no doubt represents that town. It is one of the natural laws of the Aegean area that in times of misrule piracy drives all the villages from the shores to the hills; and this, no doubt, must have happened with Larisa. It is quite possible that the prehistoric town also may have lain here or close by; we have elsewhere seen that the Hellenic tendency was to bring the settlements from the hills down to the sea-coast. In any case, the question is for our purpose indifferent; whether on the hills or on the coast, Larisa commanded the Halesian Plain, controlling its culture, defending it against inroads from the north, and standing over the natural gateway by which commerce passed in either direction. It therefore forms the natural capital of the southern Troad to the north-west, as whatever town commanded the Plain of Adramyttium did to the south-east. The Halesian Plain itself eminently deserves the title of "deep-soiled." It is now hardly cultivated for want of population. But when we passed through it in May 1911 it was as deep in rich grass as an English hayfield, and would afford abundant crops if the soil were but scratched.

¹ It is not visible in the view, as it is concealed by an intervening rise in the plain. Its position is below and a little to the left of the summit of the Sakar Kaya.

But we must here turn aside for a moment to consider an objection which was already raised in antiquity against this identification. We hear again in the *Iliad* of Hippothoos, the leader of the Pelasgians. He is slain in the fight for the body of Patroklos (xvii. 299–301)—“and Hippothoos’ strength was unstrung, and from his hands he let great-hearted Patroklos’ foot fall to earth, and close thereby fell he prone upon the corpse, far from deep-soiled Larisa.” How, asks Strabo, can he be said to have fallen “far from Larisa,” when this Larisa is only 200 stades—say 24 statute miles—in a direct line from Troy and “full in sight of it (ἐν ὄψει τῆς Λαρίδος)”? We must note in passing that the last phrase is inexact. No part of the Plain of Troy is visible from the western coast; it is at best possible, from the heights near Hamaxitos, to make out in the dim distance, over the site of Alexandria Troas, the ridge of Sigeum which borders the plain to the south and west. This we must take to be Strabo’s meaning. In any case we must admit that the distance is but small. The question of visibility does not really affect the matter; for Mount Athos, a good hundred miles away, is in the literal sense “full in sight” of Troy, and yet might fairly be described as far.

There are several other towns named Larisa in Asia Minor, and Strabo examines the possible claims of two of these to be the Larisa of which the Catalogue speaks. One of these lay not far from Ephesos, under Mount Tmolos. This he rejects, firstly because

it possessed no legendary history, so that we cannot be sure of its existence so far back as Homeric times; and secondly because it is out of place here in the order of the Catalogue. Tmolos comes later on (863), and if this Larisa were meant, it would have been mentioned there.

There is, however, another Larisa in the territory of Kyme, about 100 miles from Troy, which played a prominent part in the legends of the Aeolian immigration. This, he thinks, must be the Larisa which Homer means.

But this does not to any appreciable extent evade dislocation of the Catalogue. Up to the point where the tribes of the Pelasgians are named we have been entirely within the limits of the Troad. After them the geographical arrangement is altered, and we find the allies of the Trojans disposed along four radial lines. The Pelasgians may be either the last of the peoples of the Troad, or, so far as the order of enumeration goes, the first of the Thracian line which immediately follows: in other words, they must dwell either in the Troad, or nearer to it than the Thracians. In neither case can they be "far away." The difficulty is inherent in the data, and can be got over only in one of two ways. Either we must say that the author of xvii. did not know his geography as did the author of ii., and thought of some other Larisa than the one named in the Catalogue; or we must hold that he used the word *Ἰλίου* in some other than the strict geographical sense.

Of these two alternatives I prefer the second. A poet seeking a pathetic touch is not to be measured by kilometres, like one who is giving a geographical review. For the author of xvii. it is enough that Hippothoos dies away from his home and family, to be buried in alien soil among men of other blood. If this is the case, the pathos is the same whether he is 25 miles from home or 250. The whole objection seems to me to be pedantic, and is not one on which I should care to rely as evidence of different authorship. But where geographical matters are concerned, we are bound to take the Catalogue as our standard; if there is a real difference between it and some other book, it is the other book and not the Catalogue which must bear the blame.

Let us recur for a moment to the phrase "tribes of the Pelasgians." It is sometimes taken to be a mere periphrasis, meaning no more than "the Pelasgians," and in support of this are quoted such phrases as $\phi\theta\lambda\alpha\ \theta\epsilon\omega\omega\upsilon\sigma\upsilon$, $\phi\theta\lambda\alpha\ \gamma\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota\kappa\omega\omega\upsilon$. But even here we have in all cases more than a mere periphrasis. The gods are regarded as a nation on the analogy of human nations, made up of various classes such as are enumerated in the Assembly of the gods at the beginning of *Il.* xx.—not merely the Olympian family, but nymphs of various sorts, and all the rivers. So women are conceived, where the words $\phi\theta\lambda\alpha\ \gamma\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota\kappa\omega\omega\upsilon$ are used, as an aggregate made up of all sorts and conditions; $\alpha\iota\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \theta\epsilon\iota\kappa\omega\omega\upsilon\ \phi\theta\lambda\alpha\ \gamma\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota\kappa\omega\omega\upsilon$, "surpassed all women, whosoe'er they be." In *xix.* 31

the flies are ἄγρια φύλα, just as in ii. 469 they are "nations," μυριάων ἀδικίων ἕνεκα πολλά. The word is used in either case with a distinct connotation of a unity formed of constituent parts. And so it must be with the Pelasgians.

As a matter of fact, in the whole of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* Homer never elsewhere uses the word φύλα in connexion with an ethnic name. The nearest instance is in *Il.* xvii. 220, κάλυτε, μυρία φύλα περικτιόνων ἐπικούρων, where again it is clear that the word carries the stricter sense. The allies are appealed to tribally; it would be a poor compliment to mass them all in a mere periphrastic "herd of allies." The peculiarity of the expression is explicitly noticed by Strabo; ἐκ ὧν πλεθεός τε ἐμφαίνα ἀπόλογον τὸ τῶν Πελασγῶν, οὐ γὰρ φύλον ἀλλὰ φύλα ἔφη καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν Λαρίσσι φράζα (xiii. 1. 3). One cannot be sure indeed that he is not taking the word here in the wider sense, and putting the Pelasgi on the same level as gods and women, and I strongly suspect that this association has been the original seed of the "Pelasgian theory" with its exaggeration of the importance of the name. But for us it need not mean anything like this. Indeed it rather belittles the Pelasgians, who play so small a part in Homer, by simply mentioning their "clans" without naming them individually.

It is the privilege of poetry to use its words with misty edges where preciseness is not called for by the subject. But the Catalogue has been duly

announced as a list of tribes ; and within its limits tribe must mean tribe, neither more nor less.

κρίν' ἄνδρας κατὰ φύλα, κατὰ φρήτρας, Ἀγάμεινον.
ὥς φρήτρι φρήτρων ἀρίστη, φύλα δὲ φύλοις (ii. 362).

We may, if we like, treat the Catalogue as a piece of poetic fantasy, careless of the sense of its words ; if that be so, any discussion of it is wasted, so far as geography and history are concerned. My belief is that it is a genuine attempt to give true information. If that hypothesis is correct, we must assume that words are used in it with ordinary accuracy, and when we hear of the "tribes of the Pelasgians" we are bound to understand that the Pelasgians were not a tribe, but a collection of tribes ; and that the name itself is probably not the name of a tribe at all. It is perhaps some confirmation, if confirmation is needed, to find Herodotus assuming this as a matter of course, when he speaks of the Kranaoi as a "Pelasgian tribe." But to this subject we shall recur later. We shall presently find that we can name two at least of the tribes of the Homeric Pelasgians.

Though the southern Troad is so briefly dismissed in the Catalogue, we find frequent mention of it in other parts of the *Iliad*. It lies, as we might judge from its geographical position, outside the immediate area of the war ; but it was so closely connected, not only by proximity but by other ties, with Troy itself, that it could not fail to play an important, if subordinate, part. Let us endeavour to piece together

the allusions to be found throughout the *Iliad*, and see how far they will combine to give us a single picture.

Besides Larisa itself, the following names may confidently be referred to this district. Firstly, the river Satniois—this name is appropriated by an ancient and presumably unbroken tradition to the stream which takes so strange a course parallel to the southern coast, and falls into the sea just south of Larisa. It has no single name in modern times; in the Turkish fashion the different reaches of it are named from the villages which lie close to them. The lower portion is called the Tuzla Chai, from the salt-works at Tuzla;¹ the upper basin itself is called the valley of Aivajik, and the stream flowing through it is the Yermidere Chai—the “stream of twenty valleys.” Then we have the following names of towns—Chrysa, Pedasos, Lyrnessos, Killa, Thebe; of the Hellenic Assos and Antandros there is no mention. We will endeavour to identify the position of these, beginning at the east end.

THEBE

The birthplace of Andromache lay beneath wooded Plakos. It was captured by Achilles, and at the fall of the town Chryseis was made a prisoner.

The name of this town has been preserved in the Plain of Thebe, which through all historical times was given to the plain in which the later Adramyttium

¹ *Tuz* means “salt” in Turkish.

Tepe are still covered with pine trees enough, even under the conditions of Turkish waste, to justify the Homeric "woody Plakos." And the distance from Kara Tash exactly agrees with the 60 stades which, according to Strabo, separated Thebe from Adramyttium. The absence of prehistoric remains is hardly to be taken into consideration when a town—now numbering some 14,000 inhabitants—has been in active and prosperous possession certainly for 800, possibly for 1800, years; and all inquiries, by Kiepert and others, have failed to discover any evidence of prehistoric occupation elsewhere in the neighbourhood. We will, therefore, fix Thebe where Edremid now stands, in default of a better claimant.

KILLA

Homer mentions Killa only as a site of the worship of the Sminthian Apollo, without any definite note of locality. We have, therefore, only Strabo's information upon which to go. He tells us (xiii. 1. 62) that "it is in the territory of Adramyttium near Thebe. It still retains the name of Killa, and there is a temple of the Killaeon Apollo. The river Killaios flows past it from Ida. All this is in the direction of the territory of Antandros." He further adds (63) that "near the temple of Apollo is the tomb of Killos, a great tumulus. It is said that Killos was a charioteer of Pelops, and was ruler in the country."¹

This locates Killa just at the north-east corner of

¹ For the charioteer Killos or Killas see Frazer on Paus. v. 10. 7 (p. 511).

the Gulf of Adramyttium, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Ak Chai, the port of Edremid. No ruins or tumulus have been discovered in the neighbourhood; in the alluvial soil, often swept by inundations, it is perhaps hardly to be expected that anything should have survived. It is here that the Zeitünlü Chai enters the sea. It is the largest stream which flows from Ida on this side, and it is natural to identify it with the river Killaïos. Killa is mentioned by Herodotus (i. 149) as one of the eleven Aeolic towns, and there is therefore no reason to doubt Strabo's information; and as the local legends appear to be ancient, we may take it that the Homeric Killa also lay here.

LYRNESSOS

Lyrnessos was one of the towns captured by Achilles, on the expedition to which we shall devote a separate discussion further on. The main facts on which we can depend for the locality are—first, that the pairing of Thebe and Lyrnessos (*Il.* ii. 691), and Lyrnessos and Pedasos (*xx.* 92), raises a presumption that Lyrnessos lay between Thebe and Pedasos; secondly, that this was the town to which Aeneas fled when chased by Achilles from the heights of Ida (*Il.* *xx.* 187–94). We will pause for a moment to consider how it was that Aeneas came to take refuge thus far from his own dominions.

The summits of Ida are in the height of summer

the resort of herdsmen from all the country round. As the lower pastures get dried up in the heat of mid-summer, fresh grass is springing up round the melting snows which commonly lie on the heights well into June. Towards the end of May the semi-nomad tribes, who now pass their winters in the villages of the plain, start to drive their flocks and herds up the hillside ; and by the middle of July there is a great collection of sheep, goats, and cattle up to the very top of Ida, the highest point of which is, in fact, marked by a rough fold of stones. Natural conditions make it certain that this custom must have endured from all time, ever since there was a population subsisting on pasture in the Troad. The flocks of Aeneas must unquestionably have been taken up to these highest ridges from the Plain of Bairamich, where his kingdom lay ; and when they were once collected on the broad shoulders of Ida, a fort immediately to the south would be a far nearer refuge than their own homes in the north-west. Lyrnessos, therefore, ought to lie somewhere not far from the coast immediately west of Killa. There is in this neighbourhood one spot which is obviously marked out by nature for the important fortress of the district—the hill on which lay Antandros. The commanding position of this site has been already pointed out, and whenever the coast-line was occupied, the hill of Antandros must of necessity have been strongly held. There is, however, no mention of the name Antandros in Homer. I

therefore venture a very confident guess that the Lyrnessos of Homer was no other than the historic Antandros.

For this, however, it must be admitted that there is no ancient authority. Strabo knows a Lyrnessos, but it is clearly not the same as Antandros. He lays down its position with an apparent exactitude which leaves us entirely in the dark as to what he meant. He tells us (c. 61), in speaking of the territory of Adramyttium, "here lie Thebe and Lyrnessos, a stronghold, but both are deserted. Their distances from Adramyttium are in the one case 60 stades, and in the other 88 in the opposite direction."

What is meant by ἐπιπέτρα, "the opposite direction," it is impossible to say. It cannot mean diametrically opposite; for wherever we choose to place Adramyttium and Thebe, we are faced by the fact that it is impossible to draw a line of 148 stades in length lying wholly within the plain. Possibly Strabo, placing himself at Adramyttium, takes some imaginary line and means that Lyrnessos lies as far on the one side of it as Thebe does on the other. If we suppose Adramyttium to be at Kara Tash and Thebe at Edremid, with the imaginary line on the meridian, it will be roughly true that Antandros is about as far to the west as Adramyttium is to the east, and this distance round by the coast will be about the 88 stades mentioned. That, however, does not carry us much further, as it is clearly not Antandros of which Strabo is speaking.

Wiegand (*Ath. Mitth.* 1904), following the authority of Pliny,¹ who says that Lyrnessos was on the river Euenos, claims to have found it at the point where the river issues from the hills just above the modern village of Freneli. Here there is a prehistoric fort on a steep isolated hill marked "B. Tschal" in Philipsson's new map. He interprets *ἐπὶ εὐερεῖ* to mean that as Thebe (Edremid) was on one side (the north) of the plain, so Lyrnessos was on the other (the east). The distance of Büyük Chal from Kara Tash considerably exceeds Strabo's figure, being about 120 stades, so that the identification is not in any case very convincing. This place is entirely excluded by the Homeric conditions. It lies much too far to the east from the slopes of Ida where the Dardanian cattle could pasture; a fugitive from this direction would in fact have to pass actually through or under Thebe, and a farther flight would be unnecessary if that town was friendly, impossible if it was held by an enemy. While admitting, therefore, that Wiegand's site may possibly, though not probably, be that which was pointed out as Lyrnessos in the days of Strabo and Pliny, we can confidently say that it was not

¹ Pliny *H.N.* v. 32, flumen Euenum, cuius in ripis intercidere Lyrnessus, Miletus.

I quote for what it is worth the schol. on Euripides, *Andr.* 1, ἔπειθ' ὁ δὲ καὶ τὴν Χρῶσιν καὶ τὴν Λυρνησσὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς Θάβης πεδίῳ τάσσουσιν, ὡς ὁ Αἰσχύλος Λυρνησσίδα προσαγορεύσας τὴν Ἀνδρομάχην ἐν τοῖς Φρυγίῃ· ὄνει καὶ πένθος Ἰστορεῖ Ἀνδραῖωνος αὐτὴν λέγων

Ἀνδραῖωνος γένελλον . . . Λυρνησίου
ὄνει περ' Ἐκτορ ἄλοχον ἦραται φίλων.

Homer's town.¹ For my part I am not prepared to accept any site on the Euenos on the notoriously poor authority of Pliny, and I am inclined to think that Strabo's Lyrnessos was somewhere up among the hills, possibly in the neighbourhood of the modern Zeitünlü, which would sufficiently suit the Homeric conditions.

PEDASOS

The town of Pedasos is twice mentioned in Homer. In *Il.* vi. 34-5 Elatos is killed by Agamemnon: "beside the banks of fair-flowing Satniois dwelt he in steep Pedasos,"

κατὰ δὲ Σατνιώωντος ὑψηλάτω παρ' ἔχους,
Πέδασον αἰπυμένην.

And again, in *xxi.* 87 Altes, one of Priam's fathers-in-law, is King of the Leleges, "holding steep Pedasos on the Satniois," Πέδασον αἰπυέσσαν ἔχων ἐπὶ Σατνιώωντι.

Mr. Thacher Clarke identifies this Pedasos with Assos, and in this I entirely concur. Assos is not only on the sea, it is also on the river Satniois, lying as it does on the narrow neck, less than a mile wide, which is the only barrier between the river-bed and the shore. The site is in every way marked out by nature as one necessarily to be occupied by any people dwelling in this district. There can be no possible doubt as to the propriety of

¹ The argument becomes still stronger if Dörpfeld is right in locating Strabo's Lyrnessos near Aivalik, at the S.W. end of the gulf: *Hermes* (1911), p. 1 ff.

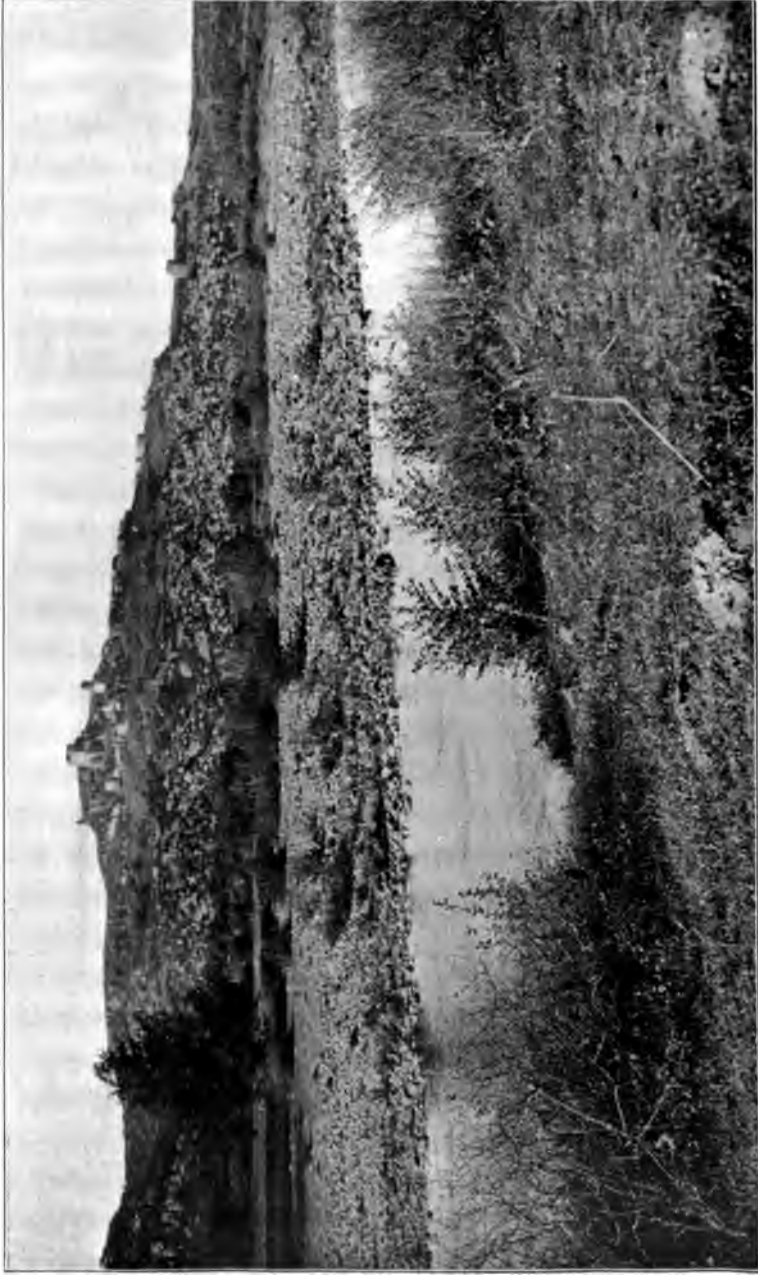
the adjective "steep." "Situated between stream and sea, rising steeply to a height of more than 230 metres, and wholly isolated from other peaks, the cone is one of the most prominent features of the country."¹

"In seeking the chief town of a seafaring nation (the Leleges), thus designated as rising above the Satniois, it is reasonable to look at once to the one remarkable spot where that stream, though at a distance of thirty kilometres above its mouth, so nearly approaches the coast that the settlement upon the intervening strip of land is situated both upon the sea and the river. An almost direct proof that the citadel at this point, which by nature commands the southern Troad, served as the Lelegian as well as the Greek capital, is further offered by the fact that in following the Satniois from the Halesian Plain of its delta to the head-waters of its rugged interior, no other site occurs to which the epithets *αιτανός* and *αινάα* could be applied" (Clarke, p. 61). This identification I shall henceforth deal with as a fixed point.

Here again we have an identification resting convincingly on natural conditions, but unknown to Strabo. There is here, however, no rival site to be taken into consideration; all that Strabo has to tell us about the city of Pedasos is that it no longer

¹ Clarke, *Report*, p. 52 (see Plate XXII). According to Eustathios (1198. 62), Pedasos was on the Gulf of Adramyttium. This, if right, would be decisive, as no place but Assos could be both on the Satniois and on the gulf.

.....



ASSOS AND THE SATNIOIS.



exists (xiii. 1, 59). What information he has to give refers to another town of Pedasa in the district of Halicarnassus, a town which he supposes to have been founded by emigrants from the Troad. But in c. 7 he groups Thebe, Lyrnessos, and Pedasos as "lying opposite Lesbos," so that he must have conceived them all as lying on the north side of the gulf.¹

CHRYSE

The first book of the *Iliad* offers us materials from which we can approximately fix the position of Chryse. After the great quarrel in the Assembly, and on the same day, Odysseus is sent off to take Chryseis with the hecatomb by sea to Chryse. They reach "the haven of great depth," within which they stow their sails and row their ship ashore, anchoring her bows with stones and securing the stern by the stern ropes to moorings on shore. They then land on the beach with Chryseis and the hecatomb (432-9). With all speed the hecatomb is brought to the well-built altar of the god; the sacrifice is made with prayer, and the rest of the day spent in banqueting and singing

¹ In xiii. 1. 72 we hear of the death of Imbrios, "who dwelt in Pedaion before the sons of the Achaians came, and had in marriage Medesikaste, Priam's daughter born out of wedlock." Pedaion is otherwise unknown. Some placed it vaguely in Caria, others held that the name was another form of Pedasos. This view is possible, and the intermarriage with Priam's family may be thought to give some faint colour to it. Pedaïos as a man's name in v. 69 is no doubt from the town of Pedasos; compare Satnios from the river Satniois (xiv. 448), and the Trojan Thebaïos from Thebe (viii. 120).

to the god (440-474). When darkness falls they sleep beside the mooring ropes, and when dawn appears they return to the Achaian camp. Apollo sends them a fair wind to fill the sail, and the waves hiss beneath their bows as the ship speeds along. When they reach the camp they draw their black ship on land high upon the sand, and after fixing shores beneath it, they scatter to their huts (475-487).

The conditions, then, which have to be satisfied by any site claiming to be Chryse are, that it must be within an easy sail of the mouth of the Scamander, a few hours at most ; and it must possess something which can be called a deep harbour. It also seems likely that the altar of Apollo should have lain quite close to the harbour itself.

The first claim for consideration is naturally due to the historic Chrysa, where stood the temple of Apollo Smintheus, famous for the statue of Scopas, representing the god with a field-mouse at his foot. The objection to this is that it lies too far inland. It is close to the modern village of Kulakly, a good hour from the coast ; and the story as told in the *Iliad* hardly seems to leave room for so long a journey on foot. But it is by no means unlikely that the shrine may have been moved inland in Hellenic times ; a famous temple was an obvious prey to godless freebooters, and may well in troublous times have been shifted from the shore to be out of their reach. In other respects the site suits the conditions

PLATE XXIII.



THE HARBOUR OF HAMAXITOS.

1

quite well. The harbour we must take to be the little bay lying under the promontory on which stood the later Hamaxitos; although it is small and not particularly deep, it gives a fair shelter in most winds to the fishing-boats of the neighbourhood, and is certainly the most marked bay for some distance along this exposed western coast.¹ It was, at all events, deep enough to allow a shallow Homeric ship to run up on to the beach. It is at a distance of about 30 nautical miles from the mouth of the Scamander. Assuming the Homeric ship, manned by sturdy rowers, to have been capable of making six knots, this would mean about five hours' row. If Odysseus left the camp about noon, after the stormy Assembly in the morning, he would reach Chryse in ample time to allow for prayer, sacrifice, and feast, until the late evening. Provisionally, therefore, we may allow that a temple of Apollo standing on the shore here will satisfy our requirements.

But there is another possible site which, without pressing it, I think ought to be considered. On the whole coast of the Troad there is no bay which better deserves the title of a deep harbour than that of Sivriji, eight miles east of Cape Lekton. It is in fact the only natural harbour in the Troad. I quote the description of it given in the *Mediterranean Pilot*, iv. p. 97: "Sivriji Bay, westward of the lighthouse, is upward of a mile wide at the entrance,

¹ See Plate xxiii.

and nearly two-thirds of a mile deep, with from seventeen to nine fathoms water, which gradually shelves. An ancient mole appearing like a reef runs off from the eastern side of the bay."

The last sentence is founded on "one of the extremely rare mistakes of the Admiralty Chart, 1665" (Clarke, *Report*, p. 59, note). A reef appears like an ancient mole, and not the reverse. This, however, does not affect the point that we have here a really deep harbour which may well qualify Sivriji Bay to represent Chryse. The distance from Troy exceeds that of Hamaxitos by 12 or 13 sea-miles, about two hours' row, but is still within the possible limits of the story.

And there are actually the remains of a settlement of great antiquity near the bay, though on the other side from the supposed mole. The American expedition identifies them, no doubt rightly, with the Polymedion of Strabo (c. 51), and the Palamedium oppidum, perhaps the same as the Polymedia Civitas, of Pliny.¹ The discovery has never been fully published. I owe to the kindness of my friend Mr. Thacher Clarke the following details, most of which we verified on the spot:—

"The remains are found on a steep headland about 100 feet high, forming the western limit of the bay. The top of the hill is crowned by an enclosure which

¹ Rursus in litore Antandros Edonis prius uocata, dein Cimmeris, Assos, eadem Apollonia. fuit et Palamedium oppidum. promontorium Lectum distermians Aeolida et Troada. fuit et Polymedia ciuitas, Chrysa et Larisa alia.—*H.N.* v. 123.

PLATE XLV.



VIEW EASTWARDS FROM THE PALAMEDION.

was evidently a sacred grove. In this are several large boulders—not of the native trachyte—slotted on the top, apparently to receive slabs for inscriptions or the like. Exactly in the middle of the temenos lies the largest boulder, particularly conspicuous from the sea on both sides, with a rectangular sinking on the top, which may have been meant to support a statue or altar. No trace of a temple was found.

“The hill is terraced, and the retaining walls are of rude and early masonry—blocks of irregular shape and often great size, carefully fitted together, the edges being chipped and broken, but not tooled. The town occupied a lower terrace on the east; it was not surrounded by fortifications, and the houses seem to have been small. There is a plateau also on the west almost cleared of boulders, these having been piled into a fortification-like ridge along the limits of the town in that direction.”

This description seems in some respects to offer a striking correspondence to the Homeric data. The distance, the deep bay, the altar close to the shore, but no temple, are exactly what we should look for. The site was protected by its sanctity alone, and was helpless against enemies who did not share the respect felt by the Greeks for the Mouse-god of the country. At some time of barbarian inroad it was evidently sacked. The line of boulders on the west may indeed hint at a hurried and unfinished attempt at fortification, and the Sminthion of the historic Chrysa is almost

the nearest refuge to which the sanctuary could have been transferred within the limits of populous habitation. For Sivriji Bay, in spite of its natural advantages, is valueless as a harbour. The coastal plain here is narrow and almost uninhabited. Behind it rises the steep scarp of the volcanic plateau, cutting it off from any immediate connexion with fertile country or considerable towns, and traversed only by rough bridle-paths through picturesque and rocky defiles. But I must admit that since the visit which Mr. Hasluck and I paid to the spot in May 1911, my belief that Sivriji is the Homeric Chryse has been greatly weakened. The Palamedion does not stand, as I had supposed from Mr. Clarke's description, actually on the shore of Sivriji Bay; it is about half a mile west of it, and an intervening promontory separates the two.¹ I do not regard this as fatal to the identification; but it certainly weakens the case, and on the whole I must now range myself on the side of Hamaxitos.

Strabo's site for Chrysa is far away. In c. 62 he says: "In the district of Adramyttium lie Chrysa and Killa"; and he continues in the next chapter: "Chrysa was a small town on the sea, with a harbour, immediately under Thebe; here was the temple of the Sminthian Apollo and the home of Chryseis. The site is now completely deserted, and the sanc-

¹ See Plate xxiv. The foundations in the foreground belong to the enclosure of the "sacred grove." Sivriji Bay lies behind the promontory in the middle distance; the low point forming its eastern limit is just visible beneath the horizon.

tuary has been transferred to the modern Chrysa by Hamaxitos, some of the Kilikians having migrated to Pamphylia and others to Hamaxitos. Those who are imperfectly versed in ancient history suppose that the modern Chrysa in this place was the home of Chryseis, and that it is of this that Homer speaks. But there is no harbour here, whereas Homer says, 'when they were now entered within the deep haven' (*Il.* i. 432). Nor is the modern town on the sea as was the Homeric Chrysa: 'Forth came Chryseis from the seafaring ship. Then Odysseus of many counsels brought her to the altar and gave her into her father's arms' (*ibid.* 439). Nor is it near Thebe, as the Homeric town was, to judge from the fact that Chryseis was captured in Thebe. Nor is there any Killa to be found in the territory of Alexandria, nor any temple of the Killaeon Apollo; but Homer links the two: 'Thou that standest over Chryse and holy Killa.' But in the plain of Thebe such a sanctuary is to be seen close at hand. The voyage from the Chrysa of the Kilikes to the Greek naval camp is about 700 stades, such a day's journey as Odysseus appears to have taken. For immediately on landing he brings the offering to the god; evening comes on, and he stays the night, sailing again next morning. But the distance from Hamaxitos is barely a third of 700 stades, so that Odysseus might well have sailed home to the camp the same evening after performing the sacrifice."

It seems worth while to quote this passage in full

as a specimen of Strabo in his most unsatisfactory manner. It will be noticed that he does not pretend to know of any actual site in the neighbourhood of Killa; he argues from probabilities alone. Of his objections to what he calls the modern Chrysa we can admit only one, that it is too far from the sea, and with this we have already dealt. We have seen that it has, in fact, a harbour, whereas there is no natural harbour whatever at the head of the Gulf of Adramyttium. Ak Chai, the port of Edremid, is a mere landing-place for the open roadstead, where ships lie half a mile from the shore, discharging and loading by lighters from wooden piers. The importance of the ancient Adramyttium was due to the conquest, and not the assistance, of nature—to the construction of a large artificial harbour, the outer part formed by a mole in the sea, the inner by a basin excavated in the land.

Strabo's assertion that the modern Chrysa is too near Troy is simply an audacious assumption. The distance which he gives from the naval camp to the head of the Gulf of Adramyttium is approximately correct—700 stades, or 70 sea-miles, about a twelve-hours' row. But there is nothing whatever in the words of Homer to imply that Odysseus took a whole day to go and a whole day to return; in fact, as we have seen, the first day at least was full of momentous happenings in the morning, and six to seven hours is the utmost that the voyage can have lasted. Indeed, though by starting early in the morning it might

have been possible to do the seventy sea-miles in twelve hours, it is at least doubtful if the return could have been accomplished in anything like that time. All down the west coast of the Troad runs a strong current from the Dardanelles, in places at least at the rate of two knots. As it happens, we have a curious historical instance of the time which the voyage took in reality.

In 412 B.C. an Athenian fleet at Sestos was blockading a Spartan fleet in Abydos. The Spartan Mindaros with another fleet was lying under Chios, watched by a second Athenian fleet under Thrasybulus. Mindaros formed the plan of joining his friends in Abydos, and attacking with the united force the Athenians at Sestos. The Athenians were prepared for such a move, and Thrasybulus, reckoning that Mindaros would pass outside Lesbos, had stationed himself at Eresos, near the western extremity of the island, and was employing his time in attempting to reduce the town, which had revolted. He had placed sentinels along the eastern coast, in order to give warning if Mindaros should attempt to pass by the inner channel. Mindaros, by a course which is not clear, but does not here concern us, succeeded in getting to the Arginusae Islands early in the morning without being observed, and lay there hidden all day. At night he started, passed through the inner channel in the darkness, and in the morning was off the coast of the Troad at a place called by Thucydides Harmatus, between Assos and Lekton,

just opposite the town of Methymna. The name of Harmatus is not found elsewhere on this side, and it is possible that Thucydides may have made a mistake about it;¹ but the point of the shore which Mindaros reached must have been at or close to Sivriji Bay. Here he gave his men a rest after the hard row of forty sea-miles. His presence of course was soon remarked and signalled to Thrasybulus; but Mindaros had now given him the slip, and was between him and Sestos—he could afford to halt and give his men their morning meal. At what hour he started again we do not know exactly, but it can hardly be supposed that he waited till midday. Rowing at full speed he rounded Lekton, past Hamaxitos, Larisa, and Kolonai. Some of his ships dropped out at Sigeum, the rowers being no doubt tired out; but with the main body of his fleet he reached Rhoeteum “before midnight.” It must have therefore taken him at least twelve hours to do these last forty miles. The adverse current no doubt accounted to a great extent for the slowness of the passage. In all probability still greater delay was caused by the stiff north or north-east Etesian wind which is likely to have been blowing through the day. Odysseus, it is true, was favoured by Apollo with a favourable breeze for his return; but we can see how unpractical is Strabo’s pedantic suggestion that Odysseus might easily have returned from the

¹ A promontory called Harmatus formed the N. limit of the Eleatic Gulf, where Mindaros had been the day before. An unimportant name easily gets displaced in narrative.

“modern Chrysa” to the camp on the evening of the day when he set out.

Strabo further objects that there is no Killa nor any temple of the Killaeon Apollo to be found on the west coast; “but Homer links the two.” Strabo omits to notice that Homer equally links Chrysa with Tenedos, so that his argument, worthless though it is, would equally show that Chrysa was near Tenedos.

Strabo has further to make the violent assumption that the temple of the Sminthian Apollo was transferred from the head of the Gulf of Adramyttium all the way to the modern Chrysa. The improbability of such a supposition is obvious. He attributes it to the raid of Achilles on Thebe, which he supposes drove the Kilikians from their country. He does not think it necessary to explain why, if that was the case, the holy place should have been moved into the immediate neighbourhood of the victorious Greeks at the modern Chrysa; a less likely spot can hardly be imagined. But it is just possible that he may have based his theory on some legend that the Sminthian temple was not on its ancient site; we have seen that it is necessary to suppose that a removal had taken place. Such a migration is intelligible if it were necessary to go two or three miles inland for the sake of safety; but as assumed by Strabo, it is entirely beyond the limits of common-sense.

He has, however, one more argument, and this is doubtless the one which really influenced him;

Chrysa, he thinks, must have been near Thebe, because it was in Thebe that Chryseis was captured. He does not conceive it possible that any Homeric lady could have been staying fifty miles away from her father's home. What the Pelasgian rules of etiquette for unmarried ladies may have been neither we nor Strabo can well say. But what right have we to assume that she was unmarried? She disappears from the scene at once, and we hear very little about her. But Briseis stays longer on the stage; and in her case we learn casually (*Il.* xix. 291-6) that she was a widow, her husband having been slain in the sack of Lyrnessos when she herself was captured. Whether a captive slave had had a husband killed or not was an unimportant detail hardly worth mentioning, unless it happened to be required for purposes of poetical pathos; "quae tibi virginum sponso necato barbara serviet?" is a question which would have seemed at least as natural to Agamemnon as to Iccius.

There is another alternative which cannot be left entirely out of sight. The only line which tells us that Chryse was actually taken from Thebe occurs in a passage (*Il.* i. 366-92) which was long ago condemned by Aristarchus as an interpolation. Though many, perhaps most, subsequent critics have followed him, the reasons for rejecting the passage do not appear to me to be strong. They must, however, be regarded in connexion with another tradition, faintly preserved for us in various places, according to which

Chryseis was captured not in Thebe but in the town which gave her her name and where she was born. The Scholiast B on i. 366, after speaking of the campaign of Achilles against Thebe and Lyrnessos, adds "and from Chryse he carried off Chryseis the daughter of Chryses." So says also the pseudo-Plutarchean essay on "The Life and Poetry of Homer." If we could accept this tradition as really ancient, Strabo's best argument would of course be wholly cut away; but it seems on the whole more probable that the theory was merely a late invention based on Aristarchus's athetesis. As we shall see later on, there was probably an old poem, taken to be familiar to the hearers of the *Iliad*, in which were fully explained all the circumstances at which we can only faintly guess.

LELEGES AND KILIKES

Two at least of the tribes who inhabited this long slip of the southern Troad are mentioned by name. To the Kilikes belong the town of Thebe (vi. 415), while the Leleges are the inhabitants of Pedasos (xxi. 85-6). Lyrnessos, lying as we have seen between the two, may have belonged to either tribe. The name of its king, Euenos (ii. 693), would seem to connect it with the Kilikes; for the river Euenos was the principal stream of the Plain of Thebe. On the other hand the mention of Leleges and Trojans in close connexion with the fall of Lyrnessos (xx. 96) seems to imply that it was a Lelegian town, though

this is nowhere expressly stated ; the Trojans in that passage, as we shall see, are otherwise accounted for.

We may take it, therefore, that the territory of the Kilikes was confined to the Plain of Thebe, while the Leleges possessed the narrow but fertile coastline from the site of Antandros, or its neighbourhood, to that of Assos. Whether they extended farther to the west it is impossible to say. The inhabitants of Larisa are included under the general title of Pelasgians, and no tribal name is given to them in Homer. But their territory affords ample room for a separate tribe ; no operations of war happen to be described as falling within it, so the loss of the tribal name may be purely accidental. There is at least one tribe whose name occurs twice in the *Iliad*, without any mark enabling us to localise it—the Kaukones (x. 429, xx. 329). The tradition of antiquity was inclined to place their home in Paphlagonia ; but there was another tradition that they were “ a barbarous tribe of the Troad ” (Schol. BD xx. 329, Hesych.). Strabo (xii. 3. 5) mentions various theories about them—that they inhabited the coast in the neighbourhood of the river Parthenios, that they were Scythians or Macedonians or Pelasgians ; and another Scholiast (AB on xx. 329) suggests that they are included in the Leleges.¹ In this competition of ignorance it is hopeless for us to make a choice ; but at least there is the possibility that the name represents a third tribe of the Pelasgians.

¹ See p. 283.

Whether the Kilikes of the Plain of Thebe had anything to do with those better known along the southern coast of Asia Minor we need not here inquire. The repetition of the name inevitably reminds us of the Lykians dwelling in the Aesepeus valley, almost as far away from the more famous nation in the south. Arguments are wholly wanting to enable us to decide whether the coincidence in either case is more than accidental. In the case of the Lykians indeed there is some ground for believing that it is a pure Greek name, given to tribes who called themselves otherwise; for we know that the southern Lykians called themselves Termilae or Tremilae. The Greeks may have named both tribes from the worship which they identified with that of their own Apollo Lykios, whether the title meant Light-god or Wolf-god. In the case of the Kilikes there is no such obvious possibility. As for the Leleges, in later history they stood second only to the Pelasgians as a subject for far-reaching hypotheses which we will not here discuss. It is sufficient to recognise them in the Troad as an undoubtedly real tribe; most of their appearances in other places belong to the domain of later Greek ideas about ancient history.

Of the Pelasgian name, more will be said later on;¹ for our present purpose it is sufficient to assume it to be applied to the older inhabitants who had been dispossessed by the great northern invasion

¹ See Chap. VII.

of Thracian tribes, of which Phrygians, Mysians, and Trojans doubtless formed a part. The long strip of land with which we have been dealing proclaims itself as the refuge of tribes driven southward under pressure from the north. Guarded by a long range of hills, in part at least impassable for some months in the year, but with communication by sea and land towards the south, its narrow and fertile slopes offered a welcome and defensible haven to the dispossessed and disinherited.

The first condition of existence for refugees along the southern coast was that they should hold together in some sort of political unity, keeping communications intact from east to west, and prepared to act in common to defend any threatened point in the long northern boundary of hills. The two points of danger were the extreme north-west corner, where the coastal plain offers a tempting approach; and the low pass in the neighbourhood of the modern Aivajik, where the Scamander valley is separated from the Satniois by no difficult mountain range. Larisa and Assos are the two necessary strongholds to guard these weak points. The Plain of Thebe is surrounded on all sides by hills and barren uplands, not attractive to an invader. The fortress of Thebe itself was probably, like Troy, required rather to protect the fertile plain against raids from the sea than from hostile attacks on the north. The steep hill of Antandros barred any invasion of the central coast-line from the east. We have no right to assume that

the different tribes of the Pelasgians were originally of kindred blood; various and unrelated tribes may have suffered from the common pressure of the Thracian thrust. But community of fate and needs of defence against the common enemy must from the first have forced them into some sort of confederation.

We are able, moreover, to discern not merely a political but a religious unity of the whole district. It was united by a common worship, that of the Mouse-god whom the Greeks called Smintheus and identified with Apollo. To him Chryses appeals, as "god of the silver bow, that standest over Chryse and holy Killa, and rulest Tenedos with might" (*Iliad* i. 37-8). The places seem to be expressly chosen as indicating the whole of his realm. Killa, as we have seen, is the holy place of the Plain of Thebe, at the head of the Gulf of Adramyttium, and indicates the eastern extremity of the district. Tenedos is at the extreme west, while Chrysa was in the middle district—if it was on Sivriji Bay, it was almost exactly in the midst. We could wish for no better indication of a tribal unity of this whole strip of coast, and it is interesting to find that Tenedos also is included in the federation. Strabo repeatedly calls attention to the close connexion between Tenedos and the piece of shore opposite to it, where Larisa lay; he habitually speaks of it as ἡ Τηνεδικὴν νηπέδα, though he nowhere asserts any political relation. It is here on the mainland that the god has his particular home, and

his worship continued till late times. "The name of Smintheus," says Strabo (xiii. 1. 48), "is found in many places. Near Hamaxitos, besides the Sminthion of the temple, are two places called Sminthia, and others in the neighbouring territory of Larisa. There is one also in the country of Parion, and at Lindos in Rhodes, and elsewhere." How the worship was carried to Rhodes we cannot expect to know; but the evidence shows conclusively that it was indigenous in the Troad, and in particular along the western and southern coast. It was of the southwestern angle that the legend of the field-mice, sent as a sign for the settlement of the land, was told (Strabo, *ibid.*). We can also trace the same worship a little farther, to the south-eastern shore of the gulf, where Strabo derives—too fancifully, no doubt—the name of the Hekatonnesoi, off the modern town of Aivalyk, from Apollo Hekatos, the "Fardarter." The derivation may possibly be right, though the obvious "hundred islands" is much more probable; but the reason with which he defends it is striking: "All along this coast the worship of Apollo extends, as far as Tenedos, under the names of Smintheus, Killaios (a local name which we know from Homer to have been originally Smintheus), Gryneus, or what you will." In classical times this would, beyond a doubt, be held to indicate an Amphictyonic confederacy for political purposes.

The theory that the Leleges were one of the tribes of the Pelasgians receives curious confirmation from

an undesigned coincidence in later literature. The town of Antandros, unknown to Homer, unless it be under the name of Lyrnessos, is named once by Herodotus, who calls it "Pelasgian Antandros." It is named, too, by Alcaeus, who, in a line quoted by Strabo, calls it "Antandros, first city of the Leleges."¹ These two descriptions now drop at once into their proper relation. The coincidence is all the more striking because Herodotus lets fall his epithet so casually as to make it evident that he is not running any "Pelasgian theory"; while Alcaeus is neither logographer, genealogist, nor geographer, but just a lyric poet speaking the language of his people. In neither case, therefore, can there be any suspicion of perversion or misrepresentation in favour of any learned theory, such as coloured the view of many later historians—sometimes, no doubt, of Herodotus himself. The silence of Homer precludes the idea that there is any copying of him. The tradition that Antandros was at once Pelasgian and Lelegian must have survived the upheaval of Aeolic colonisation, as well as that invasion from the north which, if we are to believe Pliny, earned it the further titles of Edonis and Cimmeris.

Any antagonism, however, between Trojans and Pelasgians must have long died out. The *Iliad* represents the two nations not only as in close alliance for war, but drawn together by still nearer relationships in time of peace. We hear of at least

¹ πρώτα μὲν Ἀντανδρὸς Λελέγων πόλις, Strabo xiii. 1. 51.

two intermarriages, one with the Leleges and one with the Kilikes. Of Priam's many wives one was Laothoe, daughter of Altes, who dwelt in Pedasos, and was king of the warlike Leleges (*Il.* xxi. 85-7); and Andromache herself had been wedded to Hector from Thebe, where her father Eetion dwelt beneath wooded Plakos and was king of the Kilikes (vi. 395-7). To all appearance the invasion of the Troad by the Phrygians resembled that of Hellas by the Achaians. The earlier inhabitants were, indeed, squeezed from the rich plains into sheltered valleys, but the conquest must have been in the main peaceable, and led not to extermination but to assimilation. The Pelasgians of the Troad were in all probability as much a part of the Trojan nation as the Pelasgian Attica was of the Hellenic.

The not inconsiderable amount of information with which we have been able to supplement the scanty notice in the Catalogue is derived from various passages scattered throughout the *Iliad*. When we place these together,¹ we see at once that they all belong to a consistent whole—the story of a raid by Achilles along the southern Troad to the very head of the Gulf of Adramyttium. They are, besides, so allusive in character, so graphic and yet so imperfectly told, that they can only be understood as references to a story, the main lines of which were quite familiar to those for whom the *Iliad* was composed. It is indeed possible to reconstruct the out-

¹ They will be found collected, for easier reference, in App. D.

line of the tale. It was evidently a famous epic poem—whether complete in itself, or only an episode in a larger work, is now beyond our power to say. Let us endeavour to piece together as much as we can. We will call it the poem of the Great Foray. It was, indeed, more than a foray. Though we hear of it chiefly because of the momentous character of the plunder, it was in fact a serious military operation, the strategical importance of which we shall understand later when we consider the whole plan of the campaign against Troy.

It took place in the middle of summer; for we shall find the cattle already driven up to the heights of Ida to the fresh grass on the treeless upper slopes. We may assume that Achilles took with him a large force, at least all the fifty ships of the Myrmidons, with between 3000 and 6000 men, if we suppose that the poet had the Greek Catalogue to guide him. And he can hardly have dispensed with a subsidiary fleet of cargo ships, *ἠἠεσ φορτιδεσ εὐρεσιν* (*Od.* v. 349; ix. 322), in which to bestow his abundant booty.

A plundering expedition of course sets to work at the farthest point, in order to save needless transport of the bulky and troublesome cargo, consisting largely of women and other live animals. Achilles therefore, starting from Troy, rows and sails the seventy miles to the head of the gulf without a stop, taking probably some thirteen or fourteen hours for the journey. He takes care that there shall be a

moon, so that he can sail all night. His slow cargo ships have probably been sent on ahead, so that they may arrive not long after him. Starting one afternoon, he lands with the dawn of next day, running his ships ashore on the shelving beach which lies at the head of the gulf. The town of Thebe lies rather more than an hour's march from the sea, and its position as well as its walls (ii. 691) and high gates (vi. 416) make it safe from any ordinary raid of freebooters. But this is a serious military expedition, and neither distance nor fortifications avail to save it. It is carried by assault and sacked; the men are killed, among them the king Eetion, Andromache's father. Her brothers are away with the cattle on the hills, and so escape, but only for the moment. The women are sent back with the rest of the booty to the ships. Amongst them are Andromache's queen-mother, widow of Eetion (vi. 426), and Chryseis (i. 369), also doubtless freshly widowed. Out of respect to a royal enemy, a pause is made to raise a pyre for the body of king Eetion; on it he is burnt with the armour which a less chivalrous freebooter would have carried off (vi. 414-420). But abundant spoil remains—the booty of Eetion's town three times makes its appearance. Hence came the horse Pedasos, which was worthy to run in harness with Achilles' immortal steeds (xvi. 153), the lyre with the silver bridge, to which Achilles sang the gests of heroes (ix. 186 ff.), and the iron mass, perhaps a no less precious possession, which he offered as the prize for

the "putters"—the weight which the dead Eetion himself had flung (xxiii. 826 ff.).

But business must be attended to; the herds and flocks are high up on the hills for the summer, "on the Alp" as the Swiss say. They must be brought off to provision the Greek camp, while at the same time cutting off supplies from the enemy. The Alp is reached by the long but easy path which runs north-westward from the modern village of Zeitünlü, and still forms the natural communication between the plains of Bairamich and Edremid; the very path which was afterwards followed by the army of Xerxes on its way to Abydos and the Hellespont. Arrived at the pastures, Achilles finds, to his great satisfaction, that the herdsmen have collected there from all parts. There are the cattle, not only of Thebe and Lyrnessos, but of Dardania; Aeneas himself has led them up from his home on the north, and, never dreaming of such a great flank move, has neglected to bring any guard with him (*μοῦνον ἔόντα*. xx. 188; see the whole passage 187-194, as well as 89-96). The seven sons of Eetion are there too and attempt to defend their herds, but are all slain (vi. 421-4). Achilles moves round rapidly to the north so as to cut off any escape in the direction of Dardania, and rounds up herds and herdsmen, as many as survive—among them Aeneas. He drives them all in headlong chase through the pine-woods on the hills and the olive-trees of the shore to the ships, where those of his men who were sent back from Thebe with the spoil are

ready to capture the cattle. The men escape to Lyrnessos, a little way off to the west.

The slaughter, however, was not quite indiscriminate. It must have been here that two sons of Priam were caught tending their sheep "in the foothills of Ida" (*Ἰδῆς ἐν κρημασίῳ*, xi. 101-112). Antiphos and Isos, the legitimate son and the bastard, had taken their flocks far afield. Achilles brings them to the ships, and there sets them free for a ransom: hence it is that Agamemnon knows them when he afterwards catches them in one chariot, and puts an end to any thought of further mercy.

But the fugitives are allowed no rest in Lyrnessos. The city is attacked and taken with the usual consequences. Mynes the king is killed, and among less notable captives is Briseis—who may indeed have been the queen, though Homer does not say so. At all events her husband falls with her three brothers (xix. 291-300), and she is driven off to the ships to mingle her tears with those of the unhappy Chryseia. Some, however, escape; Aeneas at least gets off with difficulty (xx. 92-3, 191-4), and regains his home in Dardania by hill-paths across the summit range.

But Achilles has not yet had his fill of slaughter and booty. His voyage home takes him past Pedasos (Assos). In times of peace Pedasos must have been a busy port: we have already seen how its position, sheltered from the prevailing north winds, and lying at once on the sea and the valley of the Satniois, made it a natural passage to Troy from the south

when Cape Lekton was hard to double. But now no merchant ships come to the harbour, and the factories are empty. The Achaian invasion has put an end to trade with the mart of Troy. Still the town is an obstacle to the Greeks, for through it can come troops from the south to help the resistance of the beleaguered city. Achilles therefore determines to wipe it out, and succeeds, though, with its steep craggy citadel, it must have been a hard nut to crack. What became of its old king Altes, one of Priam's fathers-in-law and grandfather of Lykaon (xxi. 86-7), we are not told; had he been slain, we should probably have heard of it. The warrior Elatos, whose fall is related in vi. 33-5, seems still to have had a home there, as though some at least of the Lelegian inhabitants had returned to the ruins of their town.

The siege of Pedasos seems to have enjoyed greater fame than fell to those of Thebe and Lyrnessos. It has an echo in a late story preserved by the Scholiasts on *Il.* vi. 35. "It is said that this town of Pedasos was formerly called Monenia; and that Achilles after besieging it for a long time was on the point of retiring, when a maiden named Pedasa, who had fallen in love with him, wrote these words on an apple:

Faint not, Achilles, till thou take the town:
Water has failed them, and they thirst to death.

Upon this Achilles stayed till he captured the place,

and called it Pedasos, after the maiden."¹ The whole spirit of the story is late, and the iambic lines show that it does not come directly from an epic source; but it is possible that it may be in some distant degree a descendant from the original Tale of the Foray.

We have not yet got to the end of the Foray. We read in ix. 128-130, "And seven women will I (Agamemnon) give, skilled in excellent handiwork, Lesbians whom I chose me from the spoil, the day when he himself took stablished Lesbos, surpassing woman-kind in beauty." Now it is true that we have not in this case the pairing of names, Thebe and Lyrnessos, Lyrnessos and Pedasos, which links up the whole tale of the Foray as we have hitherto known it. But the allusive introduction of the name of Lesbos, as though the occasion were so well known as to need no further explanation, enables us to refer it without hesitation to the same Homeric or pre-Homeric source. It was then on this same raid that Achilles captured Lesbos. It is evident that Lesbos is here a town, and does not mean the whole island, which is far too big to be conquered as a mere incident in a more serious war. But we have

¹ ταῦται τὴν Πίδασον Μοιναίαν φασὶ τὸ πρότερον καλεῖσθαι· Ἀχιλλεύος δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ πολιορκούσης, εἶτα μέλλοντος ἀναχωρεῖν, Πιδάσῃ τις παρθένος ἐρασεῖσα αὐτοῦ ἐν μύθῳ ἔγραψεν οὕτως·

μη σπεῦθ', Ἀχιλλεῦ, πρὶν Μοινησίαν εἶλαι·

ὄψεορ γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσι· θηρώσει κακῶς.

ὁ δὲ περιμείνας ὑπέταξε τὴν πόλιν [καὶ Πίδασον ἐνώμασε διὰ τὴν παρθένον], Schol. BT. For Πιδάσῃ the MSS. have Παισιδίῃ from the Methymna variant of the story; see below, p. 250. Dindorf, rightly feeling that an etymology was wanted, has actually published *πιδήσασα*, which must surely take a high rank among the most fatuous "emendations" ever put forth.

no tradition to tell us of any town once called Lesbos. If we may guess, let us fix on Methymna, the second city of the island. It has been inhabited throughout historical times—the modern name is Molivo—and has therefore a *prima facie* claim to be prehistoric as well. It has a port, and is well situated for trade with the mainland to the north. It is in full sight of Assos, at a distance of 12 miles, so that it may well have tempted Achilles. It hardly lay out of his path for the return. The small Turkish steamers which used to ply between Dardanelles and Edremid habitually called at Molivo immediately before or after touching at Behram (Assos) in either direction. *The Mediterranean Pilot* (iv. p. 90) says:—

“Cape Molivo is a cliffy irregular headland projecting westward, and skirted by rocks. On the south side of the cape is the little town and castle of Molivo, with anchorage off it in easterly winds. . . .

“Supplies. Refreshments of all descriptions are plentiful, especially vegetables and fruits.”

No doubt the Phœnician edition of *The Mediterranean Pilot*, to which M. Bérard has called our attention, added:—

“Natural Products. The women of Lesbos are highly esteemed for beauty and handiwork, and always command a good price in the market.”

But there is something more than a mere guess in favour of Methymna. Parthenios¹ (*Erotici Graeci*,

¹ λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὅτι Ἀχιλλεὺς πλέων τὰς προσχεῖς τῆι ἡπείρῳ νήσους ἐπόρευε, προσχεῖν αὐτὸν Λέσβου. ἔνεα δὲ καὶ ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων αὐτὸν ἐπιόντα κεραιζαν. ὥς δὲ οἱ Μήθυμναν οἰκοῦντες μάλα καρτερῶς

ed. Hercher, i. 24) tells a story of the capture of the town by Achilles on this raid, which is in itself merely a variant of the Pedasa story with Peisidike as the heroine. But he gives us a comparatively respectable authority for it, the poem on the foundation of Lesbos (ὁ τὴν Λέσβου κτίσιν ποιήσας) from which he quotes two passages, twenty-one lines together. Naturally we are not in a position to date this poem, which is not likely to be very early; but it is evidence both for the popularity of the tale of the Foray and for the connexion of the name of Achilles with the capture of Methymna.

We hear of two more islands from which Achilles brought captives. One is Tenedos, whence came Hekamede, Nestor's share of the spoil when Achilles sacked the island (xi. 625), the reward of the wise counsellor. Tenedos lay on the way home from Lesbos, and again the allusiveness of the reference leads us back to some earlier poem. But Tenedos lies so near the naval camp that one would suppose the plunder of it to have been rather a diversion for an idle day than an incident in a raid already so fruitful in events and booty. And finally in ix. 668, the fair Iphis was given to Patroclus by Achilles "when he took steep Skyros, the city of Enyeus." If this is really the Skyros famous as the scene of Achilles' boyhood, the capture of it can have no

ἀντιτίχον, καὶ ἐν πολλῇ ἀμυχανίᾳ ἦν διὰ τὸ μὴ θύνασθαι ἔλαϊν τὴν πόλιν, Παισιδίκην τινὰ Μινευμναίαν, τοῦ βασιλεὸς εὐγατέρα, θεσσαλίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα ἐρασθῆναι αὐτοῦ κτλ.

relation to the Trojan war.¹ Critics in ancient times were disturbed by the extreme improbability that Achilles should have entrusted his son to the care of an island which he had so recently plundered, and that he should have plundered an island which was to him almost a home. They therefore inclined to the belief that this Skyros was a city "in the country which is now Phrygia, but was formerly Kilikia." What this means we cannot pretend to say, and we must leave Skyros entirely out of account in the story of the Foray, recognising the bare possibility that in the ancient poem it may have been a city of the Kilikes in the Plain of Thebe.

We will therefore suppose that Achilles sails straight home from Lesbos. The voyage was, as we know, merely a matter of half a day with favourable winds. As soon as the camp is reached the division of the spoils begins. Agamemnon, little foreseeing the momentous consequence of his choice, claims Chryseis, and apparently the pick of the Lesbian cargo, as his meed of honour. Achilles, somewhat discontentedly, has to put up with Briseis (i. 165-8). Andromache's mother is ransomed at a high price (vi. 427), possibly like Lykaon (xxi. 78-80) through the good offices of a neutral slave-dealer in Lemnos, who may equally have made a profit of 300 per cent

¹ The Attic legend considered that Homer "did well to represent Skyros as captured by Achilles, therein differing from those who say that Achilles lived in the company of the maidens at Skyros" (Pausanias, i. 22. 6). This legend was important to Athens as giving her a historical title to Skyros, and one cannot but suspect that it got into the *Iliad* by some back way.

on this transaction also. The unhappy queen, however, did not long survive her release (vi. 428). Isos and Antiphos too, the two sons of Priam, were ransomed with her only to return to the battle and meet their death at the hand of Agamemnon himself (xi. 101 ff.).

Such was the tale of the Great Foray, as far as we can recover it. Bare though the skeleton is, it forms a strikingly consistent scheme, and testifies to an exact local knowledge of the whole Trojan coast. It will help us, I hope, to realise how it was that the inhabitants of this curious and interesting district can be summed up in the Catalogue as the tribes of the Pelasgians settled at Larisa, the natural place of arms from which the allied forces marched to the help of their neighbours at Troy.

CHAPTER VI

THE ALLIES AND THE WAR

The Pontick sea,
Whose icy current and compulsive course
Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on
To the Propontick and the Hellespont.—SHAKESPEARE.

Pelagus quantos aperimus in usus.—VALERIUS FLACCUS.

It appears then that in the first part of the Trojan Catalogue we have an authentic geographical document, scanty indeed, but always consistent with facts where we can test it; and that the geographical knowledge which it shows extends through other parts of the *Iliad*. The poet or poets concerned had a clear idea of the actual scenery in which their poems were laid.

The frank admission of the fact that the scenery is real is at least an important step towards the conclusion that the events for which the scenery is provided were also real. The argument has especial force for those who, like myself, believe that the *Iliad* is the work not of one poet, but of several. It is conceivable that a single poet well acquainted with the locality might compose out of his own imagination a

story expressly designed for this particular place, and fitting it in all respects. The probability grows much less if we assume that more than one had a hand in the composition, and we have to suppose that their consistency is due to a common tradition on which they all worked. We are thus taken a step further back than "Homer" in the direction of the events which he relates. I propose therefore to ask at once whether the geographical conditions are such as to give any support to the belief that a great Trojan war ever took place, and if so, whether it is likely to have taken place in the manner which Homer tells us. It will be convenient to discuss this general question here; in the course of the inquiry we shall have to deal with the second part of the Catalogue, that which deals with the Trojan allies.

Let us begin then by asking what geography can tell us of the reasons which led to the building of such a fortress as Troy in such a spot.

We have already learned to regard Troy as a castle rather than a town. It was clearly not a place in which the inhabitants of the country round usually lived. The plain, though not amazingly fertile, and in many places marshy, is capable, under favourable conditions, of supporting a considerable population. Under Turkish rule it is very sparsely inhabited, but that does not justify any conclusions as to its capabilities under a more enlightened régime. It was in fact full of towns in the Roman time. Schliemann (*Troja*, p. 343) counts the following ancient sites

which can be seen from the hill of Ujek, a short distance S.W. of Hissarlik :—Troy itself, Ophrynum, Polion (?), Rhoeteum, Aeanteum, Achilleum, Sigeum, Gergis, Nee (?), and Thymbra, and six other sites not identified, some prehistoric and some dating from the classical age. Five of them, Ilium, Ophrynum, Gergis, Rhoeteum, and Sigeum, were important enough to issue their own coinage. But this probably gives an idea of the country as much too favourable, as that which one now gets is the reverse. The Romans gave the territory of Troy the right, among other privileges, of exemption from taxes, and thus no doubt artificially increased the population beyond what the soil would naturally attract and maintain.

The Plain of Troy, as we have seen, has no great natural advantages. With its marshes and malaria, it cannot compare either with the Plain of Dardania (Bairamich) in the centre, or that of Adrasteia in the north, much less with the fabulous crops of Gargara in the south. The population would seem to have lived in ancient times, as now, scattered in villages round the hills which lay nearest the fields, and never to have concentrated in any large town.

Troy was, moreover, cut off from another source of wealth. There is no natural harbour in the district. Troy cannot, therefore, have thriven upon her oversea commerce, or its close relation, piracy. Troy has, indeed, two roadsteads, one to the north on the Hellespont, the other, Besika Bay, to the west; but both of them are exposed anchorages, offering no safe

shelter in gales. The whole Troad is in fact very deficient in natural protection for shipping. The best port is that of Abydos, as we have seen, but that was not in the immediate domain of Priam; there lies between them a journey of several hours over rough hills. Assos owed its importance to an artificial harbour formed by a large mole, the remains of which are still visible under water. As Clarke says, "The history of the mole would be the history of the prosperity of the city."¹ When a large artificial basin was dug on the west coast it at once raised the city which possessed it, Alexandria Troas, to a rank among the greatest of the world. But Troy never possessed, so far as we know, even a mole; and it is remarkable that the only Trojan ships of which we ever hear, those which carried Paris to Greece, are spoken of as though their building was a remarkable achievement, entitling their constructor to special mention.²

How, then, was it that the central fortress became, at more than one period, the treasury of great wealth?

¹ *Report*, p. 55.

² Μιρίονης δὲ Φέρακλον ἐνήρατο, Τέκτωνος υἱὸν Ἄρμιονίδεω, δε χειρὶν ἐπίστατο θαύματα πάντα τεύχαι· ἔποχα γάρ μιν ἐφίλατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη· δε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τεκτίνετο νῆας ἕκασ ἀρχακάκουσ, αἱ νῆα κακὸν Τρώεσσι γένοντο οἱ τ' αὐτῶι, ἐπεὶ οὐ τι ἐσὼν ἐκ εὐεργατῶν ἦν.

Calvert in *Ath. Mitt.* xxvii. (1901) discusses the position of the port of the Roman Ilium, and concludes that it must have lain at Tavolia Bay, a small indentation a little east of the In Tepe Asmak. This, it appears, is the only landing-place available for small boats on the coast in the neighbourhood, or at least was so till the small wooden jetty was constructed which now stands close to the mouth of the Asmak.

That this was the case we know for the Second Stratum by the incontestable evidence of Schlie-mann's discoveries; and though for the Sixth we have no such direct testimony, yet the scale on which the walls are built leaves no doubt that the wealth of the community which erected them was out of all proportion to the natural resources of the soil, and had at its service such technical skill as only the rich can command. And in each case this prosperity was more than evanescent. Both strata, by their successive enlargements and improvements, attest periods of continuous well-being to be counted, it would seem, by centuries.

It is possible for a community which practises neither commerce, production, nor plunder, to grow rich by taking toll of the industry of others. Given certain economical and political conditions, Troy proclaims itself an ideal site for such exploitation.

M. Victor Bérard, in *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee*, starting from this correct assumption, offers a solution which, like so much of his work, is suggestive and attractive, but on inquiry appears to be untenable. He has called attention to the dominant influence on Mediterranean commerce of the combination, constantly found through the whole region, of winds and promontories. With high winds constantly blowing in one direction, the rounding of many promontories may be, for a small sailing ship, a sheer impossibility for days, or even weeks, at a time. Hence it was often worth while to land goods on the

lee-side of an isthmus, and send them overland either to their destination or to a harbour on the other side, where they could be reshipped and carried farther. The saving of delay more than compensated the cost of breaking bulk and land transport. Many important cities gained their wealth by their situation on an isthmus where such land transport was a constant necessity.

Troy, he thinks, was one of these cities. He regards the N.W. corner of the Troad as virtually an isthmus. The difficulty of rounding Cape Sigeum made it quicker and cheaper to land goods from the W., destined for the Hellespontine trade, at Besika Bay, transport them across the short distance to the mouth of the Scamander, and reship them there. On this transport, and on the tolls taken from it, Troy, he thinks, grew rich.

M. Bérard, as I gather from his book, is not personally acquainted with the site of Troy, and his theory is evidently a product of the study. To begin with, it does not explain the main difficulty; it does not show why it was only under the earliest conditions that Troy was rich. If transshipment at the mouth of the Hellespont was a profitable business, Troy should have been at least as important in Hellenic times as in Mycenaean; there is no reason to suppose that winds and shores changed in the interval, and there can be no doubt that traffic largely increased. But Troy vanished before the historical period, and nothing took its place till the

creation of Alexandria, which throve on other grounds. Sigeum was no more than a military post, and disappeared early. There is no other town near the plain which can set up any claim to be the commercial successor of Troy. So that M. Bérard's theory does not agree with facts.

And it is based on wrong assumptions altogether. Without denying the importance of the "loi des isthmes" in certain cases, it must be pointed out that Troy does not in any sense stand upon an isthmus. Nothing can ever have been gained by land transport from Besika Bay to the mouth of the Scamander. There is no special difficulty in entering the Hellespont for ships coming from the west; troubles begin the moment Sigeum has been rounded. The natural course for ships coming from Greece is to run not by Tenedos, but farther north, under the lee of Imbros. Hence the entry is comparatively easy, as N.W. and N. winds are favourable, and the main current sets through the Tenedos channel southwards. I follow M. Bérard's excellent example, and quote the sailing directions from *The Mediterranean Pilot*.

"Approaching the Dardanelles from the southwestward . . . As the Dardanelles is approached, the current will be forcibly felt, and at times it runs with such strength as to oblige sailing vessels to anchor in light winds. . . . Short tacks should be made northward of the influence of the current, or near the southern side of Imbros island, where north-

easterly winds generally draw more to the northward, and where the shore is free from danger outside the distance of one mile, until the vessel on the port tack can reach Cape Helles. If, in light winds, the strength of the current should render it actually necessary, anchorage may be obtained southward of Imbros." "Vessels under sail entering the Dardanelles during north-east and northerly winds should close with Cape Helles on the port tack, round Seddul Bahr at the distance of three cables, and after passing Morto Bay, stand over close-hauled into Aren kioi Bay on the Asiatic shore, and there work up in the eddy. . . . When entering the Dardanelles with a north-westerly wind, keep the European shore aboard, and a vessel will thus be able to gain the anchorage westward of Seddul Bahr."

For vessels coming from the south the case is different. They have the prevailing Etesian winds right against them, and have in addition to fight the current through the Tenedos channel, where it runs strongly. Lekton (Cape Baba) is impossible to weather while the wind is from the north. But for such Besika Bay is of little or no use as a port of transshipment. By the time they have got there the worst of their task is done, and the entrance of the Hellespont gives no more trouble than what has already been overcome. If goods from the south are to be transported by land in order to reach the Hellespont, the port to make for is not Besika Bay but Assos. This is situated just at the point where

the sheltered coast is separated from the valley of the Satniois by a low and narrow neck of land, and two rough but easy roads lead to the Hellespont. It is likely enough that this resource may have been a good deal used in antiquity, and that the wealth of Assos came, in part at least, from this transhipment trade. But this does not account for the importance of Troy.

Now it is easy to see that the condition which is needed in order that Troy may be an important centre of commerce is that the Hellespont should be closed to the ships of the Aegean Sea. When this is the case, the Trojan Plain becomes of necessity the natural meeting-place for the trade of the Aegean and the Euxine. How important the trade of the Euxine was to Greece we know from history; the earlier record is embalmed in the legend of the Argonauts. The Hellespont is practically its only outlet to the south-west; and on the mouth of the Hellespont trade-routes must therefore have converged from the ports and borderlands of the eastern Mediterranean basin.

The passage of the Hellespont is easily closed against sailing ships by those who hold the land. The dominant factor in the navigation of all the eastern Mediterranean is the prevalence throughout the summer of the Etesian winds, blowing from N.W., N., or N.E., often with great violence for many days together.¹ Any sailor making for the Propontis must perforce reckon on a delay at the mouth of the

¹ Further details are given in Chap. VII. on Sestos and Abydos.

Hellespont, almost certainly for some days, perhaps for a fortnight or so.¹ In early times, and indeed so long as galvanised iron tanks remained unknown, the water-supply was a vital question for all navigation. Only a poor supply could be carried in the heavy earthenware jars on which the Greeks depended; and so it was that a delay of even two or three days, wind-bound on a coast where the water-supply was in hostile hands, was a matter of life and death. Bérard has well shown how this consideration has controlled Mediterranean navigation even in comparatively modern times.

The natural supply of water for ships making the passage of the straits is, of course, from the Scamander itself. This is easily defended; there is no other permanent stream for several miles. It is doubtful if any other stream flows through the summer nearer than the ancient Rhodios, on which stands the modern town of Dardanelles. This is quite out of reach to a ship wind-bound at the mouth of the Scamander. There is also good water to be had at Besika Bay, a fact which has on more than one occasion proved serviceable to the British fleet. But Troy is so placed that it can easily command this also. A garrison in the castle could easily keep watch over both sources by stationing at them detachments sufficient to oppose any unauthorised landing by the crew of a merchant ship.

¹ In *Od.* xix. 199 Odysseus is thus (in his own feigned story) wind-bound twelve days in Crete.

It might perhaps be objected that it was not necessary for ships trying the passage to touch the Asiatic shore at all. It would appear at first sight that the European shore opposite offered in Morto Bay a more secure refuge in northerly winds. As a matter of fact, however, Morto Bay appears to be always avoided, and ships invariably anchor on the south side. The reason for this will be found in the following quotation from *The Mediterranean Pilot* (iv. p. 118).

“Morto Bay is almost filled by shoals of sand and rock; . . . Nearly in the centre of the bay, in the narrow space between the two shoals there is indifferent anchorage. The current runs across the mouth of the bay with great velocity.” There is also a bad anchorage a little farther west, between Cape Helles and the castle of Seddul Bahr, but nothing which would serve as a station for ships wishing to work eastwards. Nor can there be any good supply of water on this side; for the most conspicuous landmarks in Morto Bay are the piers of an ancient aqueduct, about a third of a mile from the shore.

It is of course highly probable that the owners of Troy possessed also the other opposite shore; the well-known tumulus of Protesilaos is precisely similar to those which dot the Troad, and strongly suggests common occupation. This need imply no more than a strong outpost; peaceful merchantmen do not require an army to frighten them away. And in any

case the wind which barred the passage would be no obstacle to a boat attack from the Asiatic side. So that it is clear that the possession of Troy must have given power to close the Hellespont absolutely against the merchant adventurer from the west.

Thus shut out from the markets of the Black Sea, the Greek had no choice but to trade with them under the walls of Troy itself. The nations of the Euxine have never been thalassocrats, seeking out distant markets for themselves; they were not likely to go farther than was necessary to meet their customers. And for such a meeting-place the Plain of Troy was, under ancient conditions, precisely destined.

For Greece, the Troad is the Asiatic pier of the northernmost of the two island bridges which lead across the Aegean. Always in fear of the fierce northerly squalls which are the terror of sailors in these regions, the primitive navigator shrank from sailing by night, and sought for passages where he could for the longest part of his voyage keep under the shelter of land to the north, and needed to take to the open for not more than a daylight sail. The chain of islands which led him continuously south-eastwards under cover from the Euripus to Mykonos, and thence with only 25 miles of open sea to shelter again under Nikaria, was of course an ideal route. Next best was the northern line from the mouth of the Pagasaeon Gulf, under cover of the northern Sporades, with a run across the open to Lemnos,

where shelter was again found for the run under the lee of Imbros, or in less favourable weather to Tenedos.

Achilles, when threatening to leave the Achaian army before Troy, says (*Il.* ix. 362-3), "If the Lord of the Sea vouchsafe me good sailing, on the third day I could come to loamy Phthia." We can tell approximately the stages by which this voyage would be made. With the fair wind which Achilles postulates, the stiff Etesian north-easter right astern, there can be little doubt that the Homeric war-ship could make its 6 knots, thus running some 80 (nautical) miles in the summer daylight. The first day's run would be less than this; 60 miles would bring Achilles to the S.W. of Lemnos where he could anchor, or rather beach his ships, either in the splendid natural harbour of Mudros Bay, or a little farther west where there is "anchorage for small vessels with off-shore winds in the bay next west of Port Kondia," *i.e.* just east of Cape Tigani, the extreme S.W. point of the island. This would probably be chosen as taking him farthest in a short day.

The next stretch would be longer and more exposed. Sixty miles would indeed bring him among the north-eastern islets of the Sporades group; but they are inhospitable and afford no shelter whatever, except off the S. point of Pelago (Polyaegus). Here "on its S.W. side is the island of Pelerissa at the entrance of a deep bay, but there is no safe anchorage except inside a small yellow islet

in the north corner of the bay. The anchorage, being very limited, is only fit for small vessels, and the anchor should be ready to let go in an instant. . . . A deep bight or bay will be seen on the starboard hand, and it would appear to a stranger as a fit place to anchor, but the bottom is treacherous and not to be trusted; the bay should not be resorted to except in case of necessity" (*M.P.* p. 155). Achilles, having used only ten hours of daylight, would hardly care to stop here, and would go on at least to Khelidromi (Icos), 10 miles farther. There is no harbour, properly speaking, in the island, though there are "one or two limited anchorages with northerly winds" (*ibid.*). These may have served the purpose; but Skopelo (Peparethos) is just within reach. Here "Staphilis bay on the south-east side of the island has anchorage for coasters during northerly winds. . . . Port Panormo and Agonia bay, both on the south-west side of Skopelos island, can be entered by small craft" (*M.P.* pp. 151-2). Staphilis bay may be taken as the likeliest stopping-place for the second night. Hence he would easily reach Phthia next day; a run of only 60 miles would bring him to the head either of the Pagasæan or Malian gulfs, between which his kingdom lay.

This is the course for a well-manned ship of war, a "swift ship," *μαρὸν πλοῖον*, with a stiff breeze astern. For a "round ship" of commerce, or even for a swift ship against a head-wind, running from Greece to Asia, it would not be so simple a matter. In this case it

might be necessary to break the long reach from Peparethos to Lemnos by taking shelter under the island of Strati (Halonneseos?), south of Lemnos, where there is anchorage in a little bay on the west side. This would shorten the exposed portion of the route by some 16 miles. The Argo, in Apollonius Rhodius, circumvents the difficulty by coasting along Thessaly and crossing by night (when the Etesian winds generally fall) from Ossa to Athos; then she runs down to Lemnos "lying as far as a well-found merchantman can sail by day,"

τόσσον ἐπέπροει Λαίμημον ἑοῦσαν
ἕσσον ἐκ ἑνδρίῳ καὶ ἑύστολος ὄλκας ἀνύσσει.

The distance is about 45 miles, which might very well be enough for a laden ship with the wind right abeam. But it may well be doubted whether this route is anything more than a fiction of Apollonius. It largely increases the distance, the iron-bound coast of Thessaly had an evil fame as a lee-shore, and the terrors of Athos were surely too notorious to be courted by the mariner. Probably the poet only desired to bring into the Argo legend all the most famous landmarks of the northern Aegean. The idea may have been suggested by the journey of Hera from Olympus to Troy in *Il.* xiv. 227 ff. The goddess has neither winds nor waves to fear, and Athos and Lemnos lie straight on her road to Cape Lekton.

Lemnos, however, was indissolubly bound up with the voyage of the Argo; and here the facts amply

justify the legend. For the approach to the Hellespont a friendly footing at Lemnos was indispensable to the Greeks. In Homer the island is inhabited by a tribe called Sinties, who are "wild-speaking," *ἀγρολόωντες* (*Od.* viii. 294), and therefore not Greek. But they are never represented as hostile; they tend Hephaistos after his great fall into their land (*Il.* i. 594), and their attitude towards the Greeks during the war is one of friendly neutrality. Their king Thoas is half Greek, a son of Jason the Argonaut; the invading army has made a stay in the island on the way to Troy (*Il.* viii. 230). Lemnos is a base of supplies to the Greek camp, and at the same time a market for slaves and other plunder of the war (*Il.* vii. 467 ff., xxiv. 607). But the Lemnians keep up business relations with the Trojans as well, and act as brokers for the ransom of important prisoners, as in the case of Lykaon (*Il.* xxi. 40 ff.).

All this is entirely consonant with the probabilities of the case. Unless Lemnos were secure, the position at the mouth of the Scamander would be untenable. There is no unlikelihood in the tale that a settlement of Greeks had taken place at an early period, and gained the usual ascendancy over a rude population without bringing them entirely into the Hellenic fold. Greek merchants may have had their factories here; the island is particularly convenient as giving two alternative routes to a market at Troy. According to the winds it would be possible, as we have seen, to enter the mouth of the Hellespont under the lee of

Imbros, or to take the somewhat shorter course by Tenedos, landing the goods at Besika Bay.

The neighbouring Imbros is less important, and less frequently named, but it is represented as maintaining the same attitude towards the Greek army. It serves equally as a slave-market (*Il.* xxiv. 753), and is the intermediate stage by which the ransom of Lykaon is effected. He is sent home evidently by the way of the Melas Gulf, landing on the northern shore of the Chersonese opposite Sestos, and crossing by Abydos to the neighbouring town of Arisbe.

We can thus trace clearly the stages by which merchants from Greece would reach a market on the Trojan Plain. Whom would they meet there for the barter of their goods? In order to answer this question it is necessary to return to the second part of the Trojan Catalogue.

The first part of the Catalogue took us, as we have seen, on a circular tour through the Troad, first on a diagonal and then round the circumference. But after line 843, where we left it, the arrangement entirely changes. The tribes named are all along lines converging upon Troy; the extremity of each radius is marked by the words "far away." The lines are these. (1) The Thracians, Kikones, Paionians "from far away Amydon on the river Axios." (2) The Paphlagonians, and the Alizones "from far away Alybe." (3) The Mysians, and the Phrygians "from far away Askanie." (4) The Maionians, the Carians,

and the Lykians "from far away Lykia on the river Xanthus."

These four lines I take to represent the four trade routes which converged on Troy as a common emporium, so long as Troy closed the mouth of the Hellespont. To support this thesis we must examine each route carefully.

We will take the lines in the Homeric order and begin with that which runs N.W. I give translations in each case of so much only as bears upon the matter in hand.

(1) THRACIANS AND PAEONIANS

"But Akamas and Peiroos led the Thracians, even all them who are bounded by swift-flowing Hellespont.

"And Euphemos was captain of the warrior Kikones.

"Pyraichmes led the Paionians of the crooked bow from far away Amydon, from the wide-flowing Axios, Axios whose water is the fairest that flows upon the earth."

It will be seen that Thrace is approached from a strictly Trojan standpoint; the Hellespont which bounds the Troad to the north bounds Thrace to the south, and Thracian tribes reach the Chersonese; the Trojan outpost at Sestos needs no second mention. There is no trace in Homer of any direct relation between Thrace and Greece, and it is reasonable to suppose that in fact none existed in early days. The dreaded capes of the Chalcidic peninsula,

and the shelterless coast from the Thermaic gulf to the Pagasaean, were obstacles which must long have rendered a western route impracticable. It was not till a comparatively late period of colonisation, when long experience and improved navigation rendered the Greeks bolder, that the Thracian coast became a matter of vital interest to the mainland farther south, and at last the battles of Athens were fought at Amphipolis and Olynthus.

For early trade the natural outlet of Thrace was clearly to the south-east. An emporium at Troy would infallibly attract the products of the whole coast; had Greek trade only been concerned, Lemnos might have offered an equally convenient meeting-place.

The peoples named on this road are three, all of whom we can locate with certainty. First come the Thracians proper, who inhabit all the country from the Hellespont to the northern limit of the basin of the Hebrus. No town is named as belonging to them in the Catalogue; but Peiroos, one of their two leaders, comes from Ainos, as we hear in *Il.* iv. 520; and Ainos, with its harbour at the mouth of the Hebrus, is the obvious port of shipment for all products of the great and fertile river valley. Hence it was an easy day's sail of only 45 miles across the mouth of the Melas Gulf to the market at Troy. The modern Enos is still "the port of Adrianople, with which it has some trade in corn, wool, camel's hair, cotton, leather, saffron, silk, wax, and copper; it is

distant from Adrianople about 70 miles, and has water communication by the Maritza, which is navigable by flat boats all the year round" (*M.P.* iv. 125). It would seem, however, that since these words were written conditions have altered for the worse. "Of late years, owing to a change in the course of the river probably caused by floods, the old harbour of the town has been closed by a bank, and the river is no longer navigable except downwards, and that by the crudest rafts and during the winter only."¹

Next come the Kikones, who inhabited the coastland west of Ainos, under Mount Ismaros, which separated them from the basin of the Hebrus. We do not meet them again in the *Iliad*, save that another leader of theirs is once named (xvii. 73). In the *Odyssey* they appear as the victims of a raid by Odysseus (ix. 39 ff.); there Ismaros is mentioned, and the priest of Apollo, from whom Odysseus got the famous wine which overcame the Cyclops, is named Maron — the eponymus of the town of Maroneia, a wealthy Greek colony which has bequeathed its name to the modern Marona or Marogna. It is not easy to say where the ancient port was; Dede Agach at the eastern end of the district is the modern landing-place, and not a good one. Sandy beaches exist at various points of the coast, and may have served in fine weather; at the western extremity is Port Lagos, which is well sheltered for small boats. The

¹ F. W. Hasluck in *Annual of the British School at Athens* (xv. p. 250), where an account of the modern town, with a view, will be found.

ancient Abdera and Dikaia lay on the eastern and western sides of its large bay.

The Kikones are succeeded by the Paeonians, a large and powerful tribe in historic times. Their country is marked on our atlases only in the upper basin of the Axios, whither they were driven back by the growth of the Macedonian kingdom; but at the time of Darius they still held the coastland up to the Strymon, and the range of Pangaios to the east of it. Readers of Herodotus will remember the story of the beautiful Paeonian woman whose varied accomplishments drew Darius's attention and led to the deportation of some of her countrymen into Asia (Herod. v. 12 ff.). The Catalogue evidently conceives them as occupying the same great stretch of country. Only their western river, the Axios, is mentioned; but the territory of the Kikones did not pass the Nestos river, and all beyond this, all in fact of what was afterwards Macedonia, falls to the Paeonian power. The site of their capital, Amydon, seems to have been unknown in ancient times; perhaps the exploration of a prehistoric site near Thessalonica may yet tell us something about it. Paeonians appear several times in the fighting of the *Iliad*, but we learn little about them. Their royal house is descended from the river-god Axios, and their leader, Asteropaios, the ambidextrous, meets Achilles on not unequal terms (*Il.* xxi. 139 ff.); so that they were evidently well known to and duly respected by the Homeric Greeks.

One of their towns appears to receive a passing mention; in *Il.* viii. 304 Teukros kills Gorgythion, son of Priam, "born of a mother wedded from Aisyme, even fair Kastianeira." There was an historical town of Oisyme, lying at the foot of Pangaios,¹ and this is commonly identified with the Homeric Aisyme. This may be right; there is at least no other candidate for the position. There is, of course, no reason for surprise that Priam should have gone rather far afield for a wife; Hecabe herself seems to have been a Phrygian. But the identification must be accepted with all reserve; the name of the son, Gorgythion, suggests the tribal name of the Gergithes whom we find in the Troad after Homeric times, and whom Herodotus regarded as ancient inhabitants,² though Homer knows them not. This can hardly be called evidence; but so far as it goes, it rather suggests that Aisyme should be an otherwise unknown town of the Troad.

But the praise given to the river Axios seems to imply more than a distant knowledge—something of affectionate and even religious admiration, which has puzzled ancient and modern critics alike. There is no apparent reason why the Vardar³ should be spoken of in these terms; for the beauties of its great gorge, the Iron Gate, even if appreciated in ancient days,

¹ Thuc. iv. 107; afterwards Emathia, Steph. B.; cf. Livy xliii. 7, Scymnus v. 656.

² v. 122.

³ I take this opportunity of apologising for an unfortunate error in my note on ii. 848, where the Vistritza is identified with the Axios. It is, of course the Haliacmon.

can by no stretch be held to explain the praise of its water. But the river had one claim on the Greeks which may serve to account for this especial reverence. Rising in the upland plain of Kossova, which breaks by a low and comparatively easy pass the elsewhere almost continuous barrier of the Balkan chain, and approached from the Danube on the north by the valley of the Morava, it offers the highway by which in all ages the peoples of Central Europe have entered the promised land of the South. By it, almost beyond a doubt, the Achaian invasion must have come. We can almost hear in the words "its fairest water spreads over the earth," the sigh of relief with which the advance guard, after struggling through the long defile of the Iron Gate, saw the river opening out into the rich plain where afterwards stood Thessalonica, and felt that for a time at least their goal was attained. It was at the mouth of the Axios that the legends of Pieria grew up; and closely connected with them must have been the worship of the River God who had brought them through the mountains of the north, and settled them in their new home. When the Achaians had taken their next great step, and exchanged Pieria for Hellas, the memory of this older time had been dimmed, and Homer has nothing to tell us about it; but we may, in his passing praise of the Axios, see at least a dim reflexion of that already prehistoric stage, if not an actual quotation from some yet more ancient song.

The phrase recurs almost identically in xx. 158,

where Asteropaios claims that his descent from the Axios makes him a match even for Achilles. Achilles retorts that he is sprung from Zeus, who stands beyond all comparison with a river, even with Achelous, or the mighty Oceanus himself, from whom come all rivers and seas and springs. While thus exalting Zeus, he brings in pointedly, as though to match the Axios, the river Achelous, which we may guess to have had an intimate connexion with his own tribal legends. For we shall see cause later¹ to suppose that the Myrmidons, once settled near Dodona, had reached their home in the Spercheios valley from the west, by the passes of Tymphrestos; and to do this, they must for a while have inhabited the upper waters of the Achelous valley. It is almost as though he said, "If you have your Axios, I have my Achelous; but I scorn to base my ancestry on a mere river." His allusion to the Achelous has in fact much the same significance as his prayer to Zeus of Dodona, the god of his tribe.

We can tell from other passages of Homer some at least of the goods which were brought down to the Trojan mart by this line. The wine of Ismaros, of course; the cellars of Agamemnon are stocked not only by the gifts from the King of Lemnos, but by the superior brands of Thrace. These, however, in time of war come from an enemy's country, and are not brought by the enemy's ships; it is the ships of the Achaians which make the run day by day

¹ See Chap. VII.

(*Il.* ix. 71-2). Perhaps the wine was acquired not by legitimate process of commerce, but by the rougher means which Odysseus used a little later. From Thrace, too, came swords of great size (*xiii.* 577)—the Paeonian Asteropaios used one himself (*xxiii.* 807-8). Their skill in metal work may further be inferred from the goblet "passing fair" which the Thracians gave to Priam (*xxiv.* 234), and the golden armour and trappings of the Thracian Rhesos (*x.* 438-9). The Thracian breed of white horses was famous throughout antiquity; the steeds of Rhesos (*x.* 434 ff.) are a typical product of the country, and the Thracians are horsemen to Homer (*xiv.* 227), as they were afterwards.

Other products we may safely put down as dealt in from early times. The Paeonians had the gold and silver mines of Pangaeus, probably the main source of their wealth; and the fertile river plains may have enabled them to export corn, as they did to a large extent throughout the classical period. †

† The valley of the Axios is not very accessible for ships from the south-east. There was, no doubt, a caravan route from its mouth, where Salonica now stands, by the Lake of Bolbe to the mouth of the Strymon. Goods may have been shipped here to run under the lee of Thasos and Imbros direct to the Hellespont. But this part of the Aegean is particularly dangerous for its northerly squalls, and the road of Xerxes, afterwards the Via Egnatia, may represent an old caravan route eastward of Amphipolis, as far

as Porto Lagos, or even Aenos. For this, however, I can show no evidence. It is sufficient for the purpose that this first line of allies should run straight along one of the great productive districts of Grecian commerce.

(2) PAPHLAGONIANS AND ALYBE

The second radial line is the most interesting of the four; it runs as follows (851-7):—

“The shaggy heart¹ of Pylaimenes led the Paphlagonians from Eneti, whence comes the race of wild mules; these are they that owned Kytoros and inhabited Sesamon, and dwelt in famed homes about the river Parthenios, and Kromna, and Aigialos, and lofty Erythini.

“And Odios and Epistrophos led the Halizones from far-away Alybe, where is the birthplace of silver.”

The first thing that strikes us here, in contrast to all the other parts of the Trojan Catalogue, is the desire of the poet to give full information. Every line is packed with it; names of towns, rivers, mountains, and tribes. And each paragraph names a natural product of the region—here only in the whole Catalogue.

This is easily intelligible. The lines tell of the peoples who did the Euxine trade, that very trade

¹ The phrase “shaggy heart” does not imply, as might at first sight be conjectured, that Pylaimenes is of rough appearance or uncivilised manners, for it is applied also to Patroclus in xvi. 554.

which Troy commanded by the control of the mouth of the Hellespont. It was for the sake of this, as we shall see, that the Trojan War was fought. It lay wholly away from the ordinary sphere of Aegean commerce, and hence was the part of the world about which the Greeks most wished to learn. All the shores of the Aegean were by this time perfectly familiar; it was enough to mention Kikones or Maeonians without giving a list of their towns or products. But the fullness of the Paphlagonian list implies curiosity and desire to spread knowledge not yet grown general.

Let us begin with the sites which can be confidently located. Kytoros, Sesamon, Kromna, and Aigialos are all historical places, named by Strabo, and lying along the stretch of coast extending N.E. from Bender Eregli (Herakleia) to Cape Kerembeh. The first three, with Tieion, were united by Amastris, niece of the last king Darius, and for a time wife of Lysimachus. The combined settlement was fixed on the site of Sesamon or Sesamos—the form is doubtful—and called Amastris, after its foundress. This name still exists in the form Amastra. “The town stands on a double peninsula, the eastern part of which is a quarter of a mile in length from E. to W., connected with the mainland by a low sandy isthmus. The western part is joined to the eastern by a narrow bar, over which the sea breaks in heavy weather. The best anchorage is to the south-eastward of the town, abreast of the isthmus, sandy bottom, protected

to the northward by an islet, which serves to break the force of the sea with northerly winds" (*B.S.P.* 311). This would seem to be an ideal harbour for early trade.

Kytoros or Kytoron, for again authorities differ as to the form, is the modern Kidros, 23 miles east of Amastra. "The little port is backed by a mountain in the form of a sugar-loaf, which assists in identifying it. The port will accommodate five or six vessels, in three to four fathoms, but it is exposed to northerly winds" (*B.S.P.* 310). The mountain is more famous than the town, and is probably what the name indicates in Homer. It is hardly necessary to recall all the allusions to the box woods and pine forests of this celebrated source of timber, where Catullus's yacht

antea fuit
comata silua ; nam Cytorio in iugo
loquente saepe sibilum dedit coma.
Amastri Pontica et Cytore buxifer,
tibi haec fuisse et esse cognitissima
ait phaselus.

Though Kidros is a little place now, we hear from Strabo that it was "an emporium of Sinope," a spot, that is, where the merchants of Sinope collected the goods brought down from the hinterland.

The name of the river Parthenios is still preserved in the Bartheni, "which reaches the sea $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the westward of Amastra, and near a point of the same name . . . the river is available for coasters as far as Bartheni, which is situated 2 miles from its

mouth" (*B.S.P.* 311). It had a considerable fame in mythology, and its name lent itself to various legendary explanations. It is the most considerable of the district, and formed the boundary in historical times between Paphlagonia and Bithynia.

Of Kromna there is little to be said; it had a coinage of its own, and would therefore seem to have been a town of some importance, though unknown to history. It is placed in the periplus 90 stadia west of Kytoros, but nothing appears to be known as to its site.

Aigialos, "the Beach," was, according to Strabo, "a seashore of more than a hundred stadia (12 statute miles) in length, with a village of the same name." This may possibly be the stretch of coast running S.W. from Cape Kerempeh. Upon it, at a distance of 14 miles from the cape, lies "the village of Kara-Agatch, where formerly vessels of considerable size were built. The anchorage, which is exposed to westerly winds, is only used by coasters" (*B.S.P.* 310). This may be the site of "the village of the same name." But the *Black Sea Pilot* says (p. 311): "Ghizelji Hissar is a slight projection of the coast 6 miles westward of Bartheni point, and between it and Philios point, which lies nearly 8 miles farther on, there is a beach 6 miles long." A feature which is so marked as to call for this notice may well have been taken to name the district. There does not appear, however, to be any harbour or town upon it in modern times. It may be added

that there was a variant Kobialos (Strabo) or Krobialos (Ap. Rhodius); but as neither name is elsewhere attested, we are no further advanced.

Of Erythini, Strabo (xii. 3. 10) says "these are two rocks, said to be now called Erythrini from their colour." He goes on: "After Aigialos comes Karambis (Cape Kerempeh), a great promontory pointing northwards towards the Scythian Chersonese (the Crimea). We have often spoken of it and the opposite promontory of the Ram's Brow, which divide the Euxine Sea into two parts." This is curiously echoed in the *Black Sea Pilot*. "This cape (Kerempeh), one of the highest in the Black Sea, is bordered by reddish cliffs, and may be easily recognised by vessels coming from the Krimea, from which it is distant 140 miles. These two promontories divide the Black Sea into two parts, the eastern and western, which are often very distinct, by the different winds blowing at the same time in each. Cape Kerempeh is much dreaded by the coasters, from the severe tempests which often occur in its vicinity" (p. 310). It will be seen that Strabo distinguishes the "red rocks" from Karambis, though he evidently knows them only by hearsay. We can surely hardly be wrong in identifying them with the "reddish cliffs" which border Kerempeh and form so important a landmark.¹

¹ See Ap. Rhod. ii. 943-4, with Schol.

Σίσαμον αἰπανούς τε παρεστέοντ' Ἐρυείνους,
Κροβίαλον, Κρωμινάν τε καὶ ἄλιαντα Κύτωρον·

Ἐρυεῖνοι δὲ οὕτω λεγόμενοι λόγοι περὶ Παφλαγονίαν· οὕτω δὲ

We must pause here for a moment to mention a curious interpolation which, as we learn from Strabo (xii. 3. 5), was at this point inserted into the Catalogue by Callisthenes. After the mention of Erythini he added—

Καυκῶνας δ' αὐτ' ἤγε Πολυκλέος υἱὸς ἀμύμονος
οἱ περὶ Παρθένιον ποταμῶν κλυτὰ δόμασ' ἔβαιον.

There seems to have been no pretence whatever that the lines had any ancient authority; Callisthenes, whatever his merits as a friend of Alexander, seems to have been absolutely worthless when he dealt with Homer,¹ and invented the lines simply because the Kaukonos are mentioned in the *Iliad* (x. 249; xx. 329); he therefore considered that they should not be passed over in the Catalogue. Strabo merely quotes, without confirming, his assertion that “the Kaukonos were settled about Tiejion as far as the Parthenios and the contiguous country of the Eneti, who possess Kytoros; and that there are still a tribe called Kaukonitai near the Parthenios.” Strabo himself regards the Homeric Kaukonos as an entirely unknown people.²

λέγονται διὰ τὴν ἐρυθρότητα τοῦ χρώματος· εἰς γὰρ τοιοῦτοι· καὶ Ὅμηρος αὐτῶν μάλιστα. The anonymous Periplus of the Euxine (*Geog. Gr. Minores*, p. 406, c. 17), and that of Arrian (c. 20, *ibid.* p. 385), place it between Amastris and Kromna, but there appear to be no rocks or cliffs in this neighbourhood. The longitude assigned to the place in Ptol. v. I. pp. 314-18 would remove it to the west of Herakleia, a long way off, on the border of Bithynia. Probably all these varying sites only indicate conjectural identifications of the Homeric name, which was not known from other sources.

¹ Strabo xiv. 5. 28.

² Strabo viii. 3. 17. See p. 236 above.

We are now able to locate with approximate certainty all the names but one of the first part of the passage. They all lie near together, the distance between the Parthenios and Karambis being only about 50 miles; and even if we place Aigialos to the west of the Parthenios, the extremes are still within 60 miles of one another.

One conclusion forces itself upon us: that at the time of the composition of the Catalogue this strip of coast was not unknown to Greek sailors, who had given their own names to two at least of the chief landmarks—the “beach” and the “red rocks.” The terrors of Karambis had probably for a time held them back; of the farther coast, as we shall presently see, they seem to have had no personal knowledge. There is not a word of the great colony of Sinope; we may conclude that the site was not then known. This might help us to date the passage if we knew more about the date of the foundation of Sinope; but that is a thorny question into which I do not propose to enter. It may suffice to say that we cannot confidently date the colonisation earlier than the end of the Kimmerian invasion, presumably not before 700 B.C.

It is remarkable that nothing seems to be known of the harbour farther westward where afterwards arose the very important town of Heraclea Pontica, second only to Sinope of all the Greek cities on this shore, and still a busy port of 10,000 inhabitants. The cause may possibly be found

in the predominant importance of the timber trade, which centred about Mount Cytorus, and was certainly one of the chief inducements to penetrate into this region. The early importance of this trade has been already insisted on; to be a "Pontica pinus, silvae filia nobilis," was the highest boast of a ship, and the first traders would naturally make straight for the headquarters of the supply, neglecting intermediate ports until the other resources of the country, less immediately available, had been opened up.

There is, however, another resource which is open to us. There remains one name in this paragraph which we have not touched. The Paphlagonians are brought $\epsilon\kappa$ 'Ενετων, "from Eneti," or "from the Eneti." What is the meaning of this? The ancients themselves did not know. This is what Strabo says:¹ "It is a question what the poet meant by $\epsilon\kappa$ 'Ενετων. It is said that there are no Eneti now to be found in Paphlagonia; some, however, make it the name of a village on the shore, ten leagues² from Amastris. Zenodotus writes $\epsilon\kappa$ 'Ενετακ, and takes Enete to be the modern Amisos.³ Others say that there was a tribe of Eneti bordering on Paphlagonia who took part in the invasion of the Kimmerians, and were afterwards driven away to the Adriatic. But the generally

¹ xii. 3. 8.

² $\kappa\upsilon\lambda\iota\mu\omicron\upsilon\kappa$. According to Herod. ii. 6 the Egyptian $\kappa\upsilon\lambda\iota\mu\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ was 60 stades, about 7 statute miles. The ordinary $\kappa\upsilon\lambda\iota\mu\omicron\upsilon\kappa$, however, seems to have been reckoned as only 30 stades.

³ Following Hecataeus, as appears from xii. 3. 24 (a quotation from Apollodorus).

accepted view is that the Eneti were the most distinguished tribe of the Paphlagonians; that Pylaimenes belonged to it, and that it furnished the greater part of his troops; that when they lost their leader, they crossed into Thrace, after the fall of Troy, and wandered till they came to the modern Venetia. Some hold that Antenor and his sons took part in this migration, and settled at the head of the Adriatic, as we have related in the book on Italy."

With so much of the "accepted view" as is concerned with the identification of the Eneti with the Veneti at the head of the Adriatic we need not, of course, seriously trouble ourselves. But there is a fundamental difficulty in accepting the name Eneti as tribal at all. If the Eneti were a predominant tribe of Paphlagonians, how can Pylaimenes be said to lead the Paphlagonians "out from the Eneti"? He would rather be said to lead the Eneti out from the Paphlagonians. But this expression again would be unusual; there is nothing else like it in the Catalogue. We want not a tribal but a local name; as the Paeonians are led from Amydon, the Halizones from Alybe, and the Phrygians from Askanie, so the Paphlagonians should be led from some town or district. Thus Zenodotus was quite right in principle when he read "from Enete," though why he should have placed Enete at Amisus, far east of Sinope, and thus in a district at which we have not yet arrived, we can only guess.

It would seem necessary, therefore, either to read

be 'Enet^{ac} with him, or to regard 'Enet^{on} as the name of a town. The nominative would hardly be 'Enet^{ai}—the masculine termination in a town name is unknown to Homer, and very rare at all times in Greece. We should have to take the name as 'Enet^{ai} in spite of the rarity in Homer of the contracted form of the feminine genitive. This might well be a Greek name, a counterpart to 'Apet^{ai} at the mouth of the Pagasaean Gulf. As that place was said by legend to have been named from the "setting out" of the Argo, the Greeks may, perhaps in half playful allusion to this legend, have given some place where they were accustomed to land the name of "setting in."

But whether we read Enete or Enetai matters little. There is no doubt that if we have a spare name to be located only on general probabilities, it will have to be placed at Heraclea Pontica. A glance at the map will show that this is the very spot for the starting of a fleet from Paphlagonia to Troy. It is the most sheltered harbour along this coast. "Country vessels lie moored head and stern in the bay during the whole winter, and are said to be perfectly safe from every gale, although exposed to some fetch from the S.W." (*B.S.P.* 314). It is the nearest port to Troy in the Paphlagonian region (not yet Bithynia), and so is naturally the place to be mentioned first; and in short, if Pylaimenes did not select it for his starting-point, he must have made a great mistake. That an old seafaring name for the place should have been forgotten when the Greeks

founded their colony with Herakles the Argonaut as their patron is natural enough.

There is indeed given, with the mention of the town, an indication of a natural product, too vague to help us in assigning a definite locality, but very interesting in itself. Enete or Enetae is said to be the place "whence comes the race of wild mules." Mules in the strict sense are of course sterile, and there can be no wild race of them. The word *ἄουονος* is certainly used here to indicate the wild ass or onager, which in some three varieties, now referred to a single species, the *Equus onager*, is found in the deserts of Asia, from Syria to Persia and Western India. The application of the name "mule," literally "half-ass," to the onager is settled by Aristotle (*Hist. An.* vi. 36. 1). "In Syria are found the so-called mules (*ἄουονος*), a different race from the hybrids between the horse and the ass, but resembling them in appearance. . . . These mules propagate between themselves, as is evident from the fact that a herd of them came to Phrygia in the time of Pharnaces the son of Pharnabazus, and still exists. There are now three of them, but it is said that there were once nine."

The words "came to Phrygia" are ambiguous, and do not tell us for certain whether this herd migrated in a wild state, or was brought as a curiosity and kept under observation, or even domesticated in one of the fenced hunting grounds, which, as we learn from Xenophon, Pharnabazos possessed in the neigh-

bourhood of Daskylion (*Hell.* iv. 1. 15). The precise knowledge of their number seems to point to the latter meaning. And, in fact, they can hardly have been a rarity in the wild state in Phrygia in Aristotle's time. The bare treeless plateau of Central Asia Minor is exactly the habitat to suit them, and Strabo testifies to their presence in several regions which he describes as *ὄναρφόβωτα*. Of Bagadaonia in Cappadocia he says (xii. 2. 10), "this district is grazed by the onager, and so is a great part of the rest (of Cappadocia), especially the neighbourhood of Garsauria, Lykaonia, and Morimene." The natural outlet of Lykaonia to the sea is by the valley of the Sangarius, which runs into the Euxine only some 40 miles from Heraclea; so that it is likely enough that the Greeks may have first seen or at least heard of onagers there. Garsauria and Morimene, on the other hand, lie on the Halys, whose mouth is near Amisus. Possibly in later times they may have been brought to the shore by this valley, and the knowledge of this fact may have led Hecataeus and Zenodotus to place their home Enete at Amisus.

That the onager was domesticated and used in harness in ancient days, like his near relation the zebra now, is probable;¹ the words of Homer do

¹ The Indians in Xerxes' army drive "wild asses" with horses, *ὄνῳ δὲ τοῖσι ἄρμασι ὄνασαν ἴπποι καὶ ὄνοι ἄρματα*, Herod. vii. 86. These were probably the Indian variety of the onager. The same may possibly be true of the asses which were used in Carmania (S.E. Persia) for want of horses; Strabo, xv. 2, 14. See Ridgeway, *Origin of the Thoroughbred Horse*, 46 ff. The illustration there given from a relief at Kouyunjik, showing the lassoing of wild asses, does not prove domestication. In the *Shahnama* Rustam

not necessarily imply that he was an article of commerce. The Greeks were breeders of mules, and had curious tales about them, at least in Elis (Herod. iv. 30); sailors may only have brought back stories from Paphlagonia of the strange mules which actually bred in a wild state in these regions. But it will be remembered that Priam, when he drove to the Greek camp in quest of the body of Hector, went on a car drawn by "strong-hooved mules working in harness, a noble gift that the Mysians erst made to Priam" (*Il.* xxiv. 278). The Mysians, as we shall presently see, were in close commercial intercourse with the valley of the Sangarius; it is permissible to conjecture that these mules, so precious a possession, were actually onagers broken to harness—the epithet *ἰπποειπρός* is surely meant to indicate something out of the way—and that with them had come the knowledge that the home of the beast was somewhere beyond the Sangarius, in or near the land of the Paphlagonians.

But we are not yet at the end of the line. We must double Cape Karambis and see what is beyond it. Homer gives us but little help; only two names, Halizones or Alizones, and Alybe, and one natural product, silver. The names were a puzzle to the ancients; they knew of no Halizones or Alybe. The silver-mines, however, can be identified. They lay near Tripolis, the modern Tireboli, some 300 miles east of Kytoros. They are mentioned by Strabo (xii.

kills onagers with the lasso, and then roasts and eats his prey (at the opening of the Suhrab episode; vol. ii. p. 121 of Warner's translation).

3, 19) and by Arrian in his *Periplus of the Euxine*, and were rediscovered by Hamilton. I take the following from Murray's *Turkey in Asia* (ed. 4, 1878, p. 389): "Near the mouth of the river (the Kharshout Chai at Tireboli) are silver and copper mines, which were extensively worked till the water got in many years ago."¹ This part of the coast, too, the natural outlet of the Hittite kingdom, may have been the source from which inland silver was exported westwards. "The silver-mines of the Taurus," Prof. Sayce tells us,² "which were worked by the Hittites, were the chief source of the silver supplied to the early oriental world: hence the metal was a special favourite with the Hittites, from whom the rest of the world obtained it."

The names Halizones and Alybe were an ancient crux; Strabo has devoted several pages to his predecessors' struggles with the couplet. For 'Αλιζώνων he quotes the variant 'Αλαζώνων; and in Strabo, Eustathius, and Stephanus are given from various sources in place of Alybe the readings 'Αλόπης, 'Αλόβης, 'Αλύπης, 'Αλύβων, Χαλύβων. Ephoros actually rewrote the whole couplet thus:—

αὐτὰρ 'Αμαζώνων Ὀδῖος καὶ Ἐπίτροφος ἄρχων,
ἔλεοντ' ἐκ 'Αλύπης, δε' Ἀμαζονίδων γένος ἐστίν.

But all these variants, according to Strabo, are no

¹ One of the villages farther up the valley is named Gümüsh Hane, "Silver Town." Stieler's Atlas marks silver-mines also in the neighbouring valley of the Melet Irmağ.

² In a note in Mr. Allen's paper, *J.H.S.* xxx. p. 315.

more than "conjectures in the teeth of the old MSS.," and we must take the text as it stands.

It will be remarked at once that both names have like stems, and bear a marked resemblance to two which are historically fixed in the district which we have reached—the tribe of the Chalybes, and the great river Halys. The difference between the initial Ch and the mere breathing does not count for much in the transliteration of a foreign name; for instance, the Mesopotamian river Khabor appears in Strabo as Aborras (Ἀβόρραϰ) and in Ptolemy as Khaboras (Χαβόραϰ). To quote Sayce's note again, "Ἀλύβη, or rather Ἀλύβη, corresponds with a Hittite Khaly-wa, 'the land of the Halys,' just as Ἀρζύβ[η] corresponds with Arzawa. The Halizonians are the Khalīṭu of a cuneiform inscription of the proto-Armenian king Rusas II. (B.C. 680)."

And if Halys, Chalybes, Halizones, and Alybe may thus be grouped as related in stem, it is equally true that the termination of Halizones is similar to that of the Amazons whom legend located on the Thermodon, on the very border of the country of the Chalybes. We can thus identify, if not the names themselves, at least their elements somewhat differently arranged, along the coast in the neighbourhood of the mouths of the Halys and the Lycus.

It is noteworthy that there should be no mention whatever of the Amazons at this point of the Catalogue. They are known to Homer as invaders of Phrygia in Priam's young days (*Il.* iii. 189). The

omission is, however, entirely consonant with the consistent avoidance of anything mythical in the whole Catalogue; the poet seems to have set himself to give nothing but dry facts and names, with a studious avoidance of the marvellous and legendary. This reticence was too much for later historians; Ephoros, as we have seen, took it upon him to remedy Homer's sobriety, and bring in the Amazons where he considered that Homer should have placed them. But his attempt can do no more than increase our confidence in the historical trustworthiness of the Trojan Catalogue.¹

We have come a long way from the Troad—400 miles to Kytoros, and 300 more to Tripolis. But silver travels far, and we may be sure that it was not the only, probably it was not even the chief, article of export from this region. Of the forests, luxuriant and inexhaustible along the whole shore, we have already spoken. The inhabitants were the most famous shipbuilders of antiquity; and we may imagine that many a newly-built vessel was sold at Troy with its cargo of timber as a single lot, the crew crowding for the return voyage into other older ships laden with the more costly and less bulky merchandise from the south and west. They were great fishermen too; besides the tunny, they killed in Strabo's day,

¹ It is of course possible that there may have been some historical foundation for the Amazon legend. Some have identified them with the Hittites, and an elaborate proof of this theory has lately been published by W. Leonhard, *Hettiter und Amazonen*, Teubner, 1911. Whether it is successful I am not competent to judge. At all events they were women soldiers, and therefore mythical, to Homer (*ἀρσενεῖσσι*).

and doubtless long before, as they still do, the porpoise and the dolphin; these furnished from their blubber an oil which, in Strabo's words, "they used for everything."¹

We shall not of course forget that the historical fame of the Chalybes rested not on their silver but on their iron. That this must date from very early days is evident from the fact that the best quality of iron, perhaps steel, took its ordinary name from them. In Homer iron is still a rarity, and used only for small implements. The knife of Achilles (*Il.* xviii. 34), the arrow-head of Pandaros (*iv.* 485), may well have been fashioned near Tripolis and brought to Troy in Paphlagonian or Halizonian bottoms; even the lump of pig-iron which Achilles gives as a prize may have come hence. There is no sign in the *Iliad* that the Greeks had any knowledge of the production of iron. Only a little farther along the coast lay the land of the Colchians and the "Golden Fleece," which all antiquity explained by the gold dust of the Phasis. The linen trade of Colchis too was so ancient as to afford Herodotus an argument for the Egyptian origin of the Colchians (*ii.* 105).

Even the barren highlands of the interior had goods to barter. The Homeric ships were "vermilion cheeked," *μυτοπάρμοι*, and the *μύτρος* or cinnabar from which the paint was made was brought to the coast here from the highlands of Cappadocia. "In Cappadocia," says Strabo,² "is found the Sinopic cinnabar,

¹ *xii.* 8. 19.

² *xii.* 2. 11.

the best of all, though the Iberian competes with it. It is called Sinopic, because traders used to bring it to this port before the region had been reached by the market of Ephesos." This was doubtless an important article of commerce in Homeric days.

And behind all this we may guess at something still more important. The "birthplace of silver" is near the upper waters of the Euphrates, and from time immemorial the passes through the rugged intervening ranges have afforded an outlet to the Black Sea for one of the oldest of all trade routes—that which came westwards across the highlands of Persia from Turkestan and the Central Asian plateau. The caravan road has led sometimes to Trebizond, sometimes to Samsun; but between these two points, in the country of Alybe in fact, the west has taken up and carried on the trade of the east, for how many centuries it is impossible to say. By this path may have come to Troy and Mycenae the precious jade of which the best known home is in Turkestan, and, for all we know, the carpets of Persia and Mesopotamia. And we must not forget that one of the two routes by which legend brought the "gifts of the Hyperboreans" to Greece passed through the Scythians to Sinope (Pausanias, i. 31-2). This has been always taken to indicate a trade route from the Baltic by the great rivers of Russia to the north coast of the Euxine, and thence by ship to the nearest point of the southern coast. By this long route, perhaps, came the Baltic amber found in most Mycenaean settlements, and

evidently a highly-prized possession in the second millennium B.C.

Of all this Homer tells us nothing; but we can see something of the reasons which made the Greeks so eager to force the door to this rich and fertile land. It was a land cut off from the south by the bleak and bare plateau of Cappadocia and Lykaonia, backed by the high ranges of the Taurus chain. It could look for a market, alike for its own goods and for those which were brought to it by traders from beyond, only to the sea. A long time passed before roads were opened up inland; and the coast is rugged and narrow. The Hellespont was, in fact, its only outlet, and so long as Troy blocked the Hellespont, the gold and silver, the iron and cinnabar, the timber, linen, and hemp, the dried fish and oil, and perhaps the jade and amber, must be taken for barter to the hill of Hissarlik, carried all the way in the ships which the Paphlagonians and Halizones knew how to build and sail. When once the Greeks had won the passage, a score of great colonies grew rich in this much envied land. In the early days the cities of the Euxine were not behind those of Sicily and Magna Graecia. During the Peloponnesian War the Black Sea trade was the vital point of the Athenian empire. It was to holding the passage of the Hellespont that Athens devoted her last fleet, and the loss of it at Aegospotami was her death-blow.

(3) MYSIANS AND PHRYGIANS.

The third line of allies is treated with a brevity and absence of detail in the strongest contrast to the second. Divested of three lines which merely give a personal and unimportant touch, it affords only the following geographical information:—

“The Mysians were led of Chromis and Ennomos the augur . . .

“And Phorkys and godlike Askanios led the Phrygians from Askania far away; and they were eager for the fight.”

We know generally the position of Mysia and Phrygia in historical times; the only additional guide we have is the name Askania.

Mysia lies immediately east of the Troad; the valley of the Aesepus, as we have seen, is for Homer the eastern boundary of the Troad, and must therefore be taken as the western frontier of Mysia. The northern must of necessity be the shore of the Propontis. As to the eastern and southern boundaries, we are in the dark. In the south, Mysia seems at one time to have included Pergamum and the plain at the head of the Gulf of Adramyttium. The latter in Homer belongs to the Kilikes. But there is nothing in Homer inconsistent with the possession by Mysians of the valley of the Caicus.¹ They are

¹ In *Il.* v. 44 is killed “Phaistos son of Maeonian Boros, who came from loamy Tarne.” The site of Tarne was unknown to the ancient commentators, who were inclined to identify it with Sardis, probably only because that was the chief city of Lydia, *i.e.* Maeonia. But Allen (*J.H.S.*

settled here in the legend of Telephos, which goes back, as we learn from the abstract of Proclus, as far as the Kypria—to the verge, that is, of the Homeric age. The capital of the Mysian king Telephos is at Teuthrania, in the valley of the Caicus, lower down than Pergamon.¹ Hither the Greeks are said to have led an expedition, mistaking it for Troy, before the Trojan War. The tale is inconsistent with the *Iliad*, and suggests the probability that the whole series of events may be an echo of a subsequent racial displacement. All that we can say, on the Homeric evidence, is that the Mysians cannot have extended farther south than the Caicus, for the next great valley, that of the Hermos, is in possession of the Maeonians.

Nor is the boundary on the east any better defined. As Strabo often tells us, the frontiers of Mysia and Phrygia were so unsettled as to have passed into a proverb for uncertainty.² It is clear that there had

xxx. p. 317) suggests very plausibly that it may be the same as Atarneus, near the mouth of the Caicus valley (cf. Paisos-Apaisos). If this is correct, it would show that the Caicus belonged to the Maeonians, not the Mysians.

¹ In the *Odyssey* (xi. 521) the people of Eurypylos, the son of Telephos, are called Κίτριοι, a name of which Strabo frankly confesses that nothing was known. But one of the two small streams which run under the walls of Pergamon was called Keteios, so that the tribal name may be genuine.

² I take this opportunity of calling attention to a curious mutilation, under the guise of "emendation," which disfigures our text of Strabo. In xii. 4. 4 the MSS. read, quite correctly, καὶ ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν Φρυγῶν καὶ τῶν Μυσῶν καὶ παροικιῶνται, "χωρὶς τὰ Φρυγῶν καὶ Μυσῶν ὁρίσματα διορίσαι (or -ασαι) χαλεπόν." Editors, however, are not content with this plain statement, but put a colon, or even a parenthesis, after ὁρίσματα, and a δέ after διορίσαι. How they propose to translate the "proverb" after this they do not tell us. If the words mean anything, it is that the boundaries of the P. and M. are apart, which is exactly what Strabo has told us in the preceding line they ought to be, but are not, being mixed up. The question is settled by xii. 8. 2, ὅσα δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν διορίσαι χωρὶς τὰ Μυσῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν ὁρίσματα. It is as well to get sense before thinking of metre.

taken place at this point, almost in historical times, a fresh thrust of migration which had confused all tribal limits.

The Bosphorus was the passage for successive inroads of Thracian tribes pressing southwards. That Mysians and Phrygians had both come this way is hardly to be doubted. Homer knows of other Mysians, afterwards called Moesians, in the far north as one looked over the Thracian land; part of the migrating tribe had stayed behind, just as the Phrygians had left some of their own race under the name of Bryges or Brygi in Macedonia.¹ It would seem that at the date of the Catalogue the Phrygians are the last comers, and occupy the lower valley of the Sangarius and the country immediately to the west. This is the district afterwards known as Bithynia. The invasion of the Bithynians, with the allied or subordinate tribes of Thyni and Mariandyni, came after Homeric days, and almost within historical memory.² The effect of this invasion was to drive the Phrygians out of their country, partly up the valley of the Sangarius to the highlands commonly known as Phrygia, partly westwards along the Propontis, where they seem to have settled actually among the Mysians, to the confusion of all boundaries.³

¹ *I.* xiii. 5; Herod. vii. 73; Strabo, xii. 3. 20.

² See Herod. vii. 75; in iii. 90 they are called simply "the Thracians in Asia."

³ It is remarkable that there is in Homer no mention of the Bebykes, who play an important part in the Argonaut legend, and were therefore undoubtedly settled in Bithynia long before the arrival of the Bithynians. They seem to have been a sub-tribe of the Phrygians; it looks as though their name were related to that of the Phrygians (*Bpúrec*), as that of the Bithyni to the Thyni, the *Be* being a preposition (cf. *Prussian* by *Russian*!).

Their position in Homeric times is fixed by two passages. In *Il.* iii. 187 Priam goes to help them, when they are fighting "along the banks of the Sangarius," to repel an invasion of the Amazons; it would seem, therefore, that this was their eastern boundary.¹ And the Catalogue itself gives a landmark in the name Askanie.² This certainly means the district in which lay the lake known in historical times as the Askanian Lake. On it stood the town of Nicaea, now Isnik, which gives the lake its modern name. It lies N.E. of Brusa, and close to the sharp bend where the Sangarius, now Sakaria, suddenly changes its course from N.W. to N.E. by the town of Lefke. An easy pass across the watershed between the lake and the river gives access to the great and fertile Daskylian plain from the valley which is the natural highway to the Phrygian uplands. By this road must have passed all the traffic of the river valley so long as trade centred round the mouth of the Hellespont; the land passage is in this case much shorter and easier than by sea from the river-mouth,

¹ Myres, in *J.H.S.* xxvii. 173, concludes that "the Phrygians were still cutting their way up the Sangarios in the early manhood of King Priam." This is wholly unjustifiable; the Phrygians are repelling an invasion, not achieving one. For Myres' hypothesis would imply, in the teeth of all tradition, that the Amazons were the original settlers on the Sangaria. The home of the Amazons is consistently placed far away to the east; here in the west they are the invaders, who appear in raids which are always repelled in the end. And why should Priam aid invaders who come to disturb his immediate neighbourhood?

² For the importance of the name Askanios, which has been woven into the Aeneas legend, see E. Meyer, *Gesch. der Troas*, p. 69. It has been suggested by Dr. Cowley (in Allen, *J.H.S.* xxx. p. 317) that it may be originally the same as Axeinos, the older name of the Euxine.

as a glance at the map will show. Here, then, will be the chief seat of a people who have a footing on the Sangarius as well as in Daskylitis, and wish to command the trade route.

Askanie means, no doubt, as Strabo (xii. 4. 5) supposes, the district in which the lake lies; but it is hardly possible to follow his reasons when he further concludes that the northern and western part of the district belonged to the Mysians, the southern and eastern to the Phrygians, and that the word "afar" is meant merely to contrast the Phrygian with the Mysian portion as "farther from Troy." No such unnatural explanation of the adverb is needed. Lake Isnik is some 200 miles from Troy, at almost the same distance to the east as the Axios to the west; and the Axios is "far" in *Il.* xxi. 154 as well as in ii. 849. And the attribution of any part of Askanie to the Mysians depends entirely upon an unauthorised interpolation into Homer. Strabo quotes the lines xiii. 792-3 as follows:—

Πάλμυι τ' Ἀσκάπῳ τε Μόρυι ε' υἱ' Ἰπποτίωνος
 Μυσῶν ἀγχεμάχων ἡγήτορα
 οἳ ῥ' ἐκ Ἀσκανίης ἐριβόλακος ἦλθον ἀμοιβοί.

The fragmentary line in the middle forms the only ground for finding Mysians in Askania; and there is no trace of it whatever in the Homeric tradition. It would almost look as though Strabo had inserted it here by a trick of memory. For in the next book (xiv. 511-12) we find

Αἶας ῥα πρῶτος Τελαμώνιος ὄτρπιον οὔτα
 Γυρτιάδην, Μυσῶν ἡγήτορα καρτεροῦμίωων.

followed two lines later by the death of Morys and Hippotion. Morys son of Hippotion is one of the leaders who brought the relief troops from Askania in xiii., and it is possible that Strabo may have considered that he was included with Hyrtios as a leader of the Mysians in xiv., though there is nothing in the Homeric text to justify such an assumption. In any case it would be difficult, I think, to parallel in Strabo either the unauthorised interpolation of a line, or the misquotation, whichever we think the more likely. We must simply neglect the conclusions based on such a foundation, and, following the statement of the Catalogue, regard Askanie as a purely Phrygian land in early days.¹

The western frontier, where the Phrygians marched with the Mysians, may then be placed conjecturally at the mouth of the Rhyndacus, where the natural boundary of the Mysian Olympus runs down to the sea. That the coast west of this was later included under the name of Phrygia "ad Hellespontum" is no doubt due to the later displacement of the Phrygians by the Bithynians, accompanied by a migration of Mysians southward to Adramyttium and Pergamon. But the Mysians never lost their hold on their mountain frontier to the north; in the time of Herodotus they are still known as Ὀλυμπηνοί (vii. 74). They would seem even at that date to have been a

¹ Our maps mark another Lake Askania far away in the south, on the Pisidian frontier of Phrygia, the modern Buldur Göl. This is not, of course, in question here, and Strabo knows nothing of it (xii. 4. 8, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἀσκανίας λίμνης εὐρισκομένης ἀλλ' ἐπιταθεῖα μόνον, i. e. in Bithynia).

rude and backward people ; they are armed only with "local helmets, small shields, and charred darts," probably only "throwing sticks" (Macan *ad loc.*).

We may take it, then, that to the Catalogue Mysians and Phrygians are more or less nomad tribes, still retaining their old Thracian habits, and occupying the plains and hills along the coast from the Aesepus to the Sangarius, and possibly to an even more easterly point ; where the Paphlagonians marched with them we do not know. They are probably closely connected with the Trojans by blood as well as friendship ; Hecuba herself seems to have been a Phrygian, for her brother "dwelt in Phrygia on the banks of the Sangarius" (*Il.* xvi. 719). Later poets actually identified Phrygians and Trojans, and used the two names indifferently ; but of this there is no trace in Homer. In *Il.* xxiv. 545, however, Priam's realm is bounded to the east by Phrygia, which would seem to imply that the Mysians at least were included under the general name.

The only hint of the productions of the country which Homer gives is the epithet "rich in vines," *ἀμπελόεσσα*, applied to Phrygia in *Il.* iii. 184. We have already noticed that the north of the Troad was famous for its wine, and it would seem that the Phrygians had so far abandoned their pastoral habits as to cultivate the grape. But there is little trace of agriculture here at any time. Olympus had forests, but they were not close enough to the sea to compete with Kytoros and Ida ; their chief reputation, it would

appear from Strabo, was for the shelter they gave to brigand chiefs, one at least of whom, Kleon, achieved an independent power of considerable extent (xii. 8. 8-9). We need not be surprised, therefore, to find that the only natural product on which Strabo lays stress is cheese. "In the interior of Bithynia is Bithynion, lying on the heights above Tieum, and owning the district of Salon, an excellent grazing country from which comes the Salon cheese." And in Daskylion, which lay here, Xenophon tells us (*Hell.* iv. 1. 15) that Pharnabazos had a palace, and "around it were many large villages, and abundance of provisions, and splendid hunting grounds, some in enclosed parks, and others in the open country."

The route from this hinterland of the Troad to the market of Troy was certainly by land. An easy road runs by the plains south of the Propontis, generally a short distance from the sea, and through Adrasteia to the south shore of the Hellespont. It would be joined at right angles by the tracks running down from the various river valleys which it crosses. Along this would be driven the cattle and sheep, perhaps with a few onagers from time to time. Whether the hides and horns and wool and deer-skins from the hills were taken by boat we cannot say. If timber came, it certainly implies water carriage. It is noticeable, however, that no word is said of Kalchedon, which to all appearance was the most ancient trading settlement in the district. Cyzicus was, of course, a later foundation.

(4) MAEONIANS, CARIANS, AND LYKIANS.

“And the Maeonians were led by Mesthles and Antiphos, twain sons of Talaimenes, born of the Gygaean lake; these led the Maeonians whose home is under Tmolos.

“But Nastes was leader of the barbarous-voiced Carians who owned Miletos and the thick-leaved mount of Phthires, and the streams of Maeander and the high tops of Mykale . . .

“And Sarpedon and noble Glaukos led the Lykians, from far-away Lykia on the eddying Xanthos.”

We are here on ground which from very early days has been familiar to the Greeks; and the problems which it offers are comparatively few.

The Maeonians are definitely located in the basin of the Hermos and the plain of Sardis by the mention of the Gygaean lake and Mount Tmolos, between which Sardis lay. This was in historical times the land of the Lydians. Herodotus tells us that the Maeonians had changed their name to Lydians, and thus regards the nations as identical. The generally adopted view is that the Maeonians had, after the Homeric age, been conquered and absorbed by invading Lydians. This would obviously be a natural result of the Bithynian inroad; the dispossessed Phrygians, while fighting their way southwards, would probably thrust the hill-tribes on their road westwards to the valleys and plains of the coast.

Of the smaller basins of the Caicus to the N. and

the Cayster to the S. of Lydia we hear nothing, save that the "Asian mead by the streams of Caystrios" was a famous haunt for wild birds (*Il.* ii. 461). We are thus in the dark as to the northern and southern boundaries of the Maeonians, save so far as we can conjecture that either Mysians or Keteians were their neighbours on the north.¹

Whether Sardis was known to the Homeric Greeks is left uncertain. We have already noted that the identification with it of the otherwise unknown Tarne is improbable.²

But we hear in xx. 385 of Iphition "whom a naiad nymph bore to Otrynteus beneath snowy Tmolos, in the rich land of Hyde"; and as he falls Achilles taunts him, "here hast thou found death, though thy birth was on the Gygaean lake, where is thy sire's demesne, by Hyllos rich in fish and eddying Hermos." The mention of Tmolos and the Gygaean lake, both well-known names in later times, shows that if Hyde was not actually the same as Sardis, it must have been a town or district close by. The Hyllos had in Strabo's day changed its name to Phrygius;³ but to Herodotus⁴ the Homeric name is still familiar. The exact identification of it among the affluents of the Hermus is of no great importance. What is of particular interest is that here, just where lay the great city of Sardis, the Homeric poems show a quite unusually detailed knowledge of names; and, more-

¹ See p. 297 above.

² See p. 297, note.

³ Strabo xiii. 4. 5-6; but cf. Plin. *H.N.* v. 119.

⁴ i. 80.

over, that here only in Asia does this knowledge extend to an inland district. Elsewhere Homer knows, save in the Troad itself, only the coast—rivers, maritime towns, mountains visible from the sea. Here he not only has knowledge of an inland lake, river, and mountain lying nearly 80 miles from the coast, but assumes, as though it were part of the Achaian tradition, the legends which are intrinsically bound up with local features—the figure of the weeping Niobe, far up in the Hermus valley, and the nymphs who dance about some Lydian Achelous elsewhere unrecorded (xxiv. 614–616). With the Maeonians, therefore, there must have been already, at the time of the war, a particularly close intercourse, due doubtless to commercial relations. It must occasion some surprise that, though the *Odyssey*¹ knows the names of Psyra, Chios, and Mimas, none of them should appear in the Catalogue of the Ships, and we are thus left in the dark as to the base from which this intercourse was carried on. But the negative testimony of the Catalogue obtains some confirmation in the fact that so far no evidence has been found of Mycenaean culture in Chios or its neighbourhood.

The Carians, with their river Maeander, their town Miletus, and their promontory Mykale with its high cliffs, need no more comment than can be afforded by any atlas, nor do the Lykians and their river Xanthus. Only the mountain of Phthires was

¹ iii. 170–172.

unknown in ancient days, and the claims of the two conspicuous Carian ranges, Latmus and Grion, were balanced and decided according to individual taste. Whether either, and if so, which, bore the rather unsavoury title may well remain a matter of indifference to us. It is enough to note that the whole district must from early days have been familiarly known to the Greeks. The curious mention of a difference of language between Carians and Achaians may in itself be taken as evidence of more constant and peaceful intercourse than in other districts, or at all events of earlier contact here. To the Greeks it must always have served as a reminder that Miletus was a pre-Hellenic city.

Here the trade route is given by the curious list of islands in the Catalogue—Kasos, Krapathos, and Rhodes forming the bridge from Crete to the mainland, with a further line of advance all up the Carian shore, through Syme, Nisyros, Cos and Calymnos, almost to the Latmian Gulf. Here it is that the Greeks are in touch with the Asian continent, following up, most likely, old Minoan routes, and inheriting the commerce of their predecessors. It is noteworthy that a Mycenaean stratum has recently been discovered by the German excavators at Miletus itself.

Lykia represents the end of a natural line of commerce. It is likely that the Lykians had emporia where they collected the goods from the east and south, keeping in their own hands the commerce of

Asia Minor to the north-west. Such a supposition is reasonable in itself, and is confirmed by the complete absence of any knowledge, so far as Homer tells us, of the parts more distant from Greece. Of Lykia there is, indeed, something to be learnt from Homer. The legend of Bellerophon¹ is evidence of acquaintance based on more than mere hearsay, and of direct relations between Greece and Lykia expressed in intermarriage between the royal houses. Of the Lykian localities named in the *Iliad*, we cannot stake much upon the identification of the Chimaera (179) with a burning jet of natural gas at a place called Deliktash; and the Aleian Plain (201) has always been unknown—it hardly seems possible that Homer is here speaking of the historical Aleian Plain which lay along the Pyramus in the east of Cilicia, more than 300 miles from the Xanthos. Such an assumption would at best only prove the ignorance of Homer about the localities E. of Lykia.

In the name of the Solymi (*Il.* vi. 204), however, we have a definite historical reference perpetuated in a place-name. Who the Solymi were, and what was their relation to the Tremilae, as the Lykians called themselves, this is not the place to ask; enough shadowy speculation has been founded on it in ancient as well as modern times. But it is significant that Poseidon, returning from the land of the Ethiopians, should catch sight of Odysseus, as he nears Phaeacia,

¹ *Il.* vi. 152-211.

“from the mountains of the Solymi” (*Od.* v. 283). This range, τὰ ὄλυια ὄρος, as we know from Strabo (xiv. 3. 9), was situated on the extreme eastern coast of Lykia, just over the port of Phaselis. Here it is that the god, coming from the south or the south-east, first enters the Greek world; and Bérard has justly observed that Phaselis is marked out by nature to be the port for trade from Phenicia, Cyprus, and Egypt. It is precisely at this point where the two systems of trade must have met that Homer knows a name; and beyond it he knows nothing.¹

The commercial importance of this district under early conditions has been well pointed out by Bérard. The coasting traffic from Lykia to Adramyttium follows the “inner lead” under a line of islands which protect it to the west, while on the eastern side promontories and bays, one after another, give the mariner continuous shelter from the winds when needed, with every opportunity to take advantage of the favourable moment for a run, however brief, to the next harbour nearer his destination. It is in Lykia that these conditions begin. Not only does the direction of the coast change there from west-east to north-south, but its physical characters alter as well, and with them all the conditions of navigation. The coasts of Cilicia offer no promontories and but little shelter under their long lines of mountains overhanging the sea. Trade must be carried

¹ In later days Phaselis was the most easterly town which paid tribute to Athens. A description of the place will be found in Hogarth's *Accidents of an Antiquary's Life*, p. 113.

on in well-found ships, prepared for long runs by night as well as by day, if communication is to be kept up with the great commercial countries of Cyprus, Egypt, and Phenicia.

The "inner lead" of which we have spoken carries the sailor under the lee of islands as far as the Gulf of Adramyttium. Here, however, in order to reach the Hellespont, he must pass out into the open Aegean by rounding Cape Lekton. This is by no means an easy undertaking when once the Etesian winds have set in. He may well have to wait not only days, but weeks before a favourable opportunity presents itself. A caravan route by which goods could be carried across the Troad would offer obvious advantages.

We have already seen how admirably Assos (Pedasos) is adapted for this purpose. The coast-ridge here is from 300 to 400 feet high—enough to afford shelter from the north wind; it is barely a mile across, and from the small plain of Assos on the north side, the middle basin of the Satniois, two roads run to Troy. One we have already discussed, that which leads down to the Halesian Plain, and then by the easy coast-road past Larisa. The other is more direct, by Aivajik into the middle Scamander valley, and over the shoulder of the Bally Dagh to the Trojan Plain. The distance by either is much the same, but as the latter is the more hilly, it is probable that the coast-road was the more popular. The distance is about forty-five miles, an easy two-days' journey. Bérard's

“law of the isthmus” accounts for the importance of Assos, though not for that of Troy; and there can be little doubt that this overland carriage was an important link in the southern trade route.

The goods which came this way must have been in the main manufactured goods, the precious wares of Egypt and Phenicia. Some, no doubt, came a shorter distance. It is curious that through the whole *Iliad* neither Maeonians nor Carians are ever represented as taking any part in actual fighting—the mention of their names among the other allies of Troy in *Il.* x. 428–431 and the death of a “son of Maeonian Boros” in v. 44 can hardly be called exceptions. The only other places where they are mentioned always imply a commercial relation. The wealth of Troy has passed to “Maeonia or Phrygia” in order to pay mercenaries (xviii. 291); Helen ironically asks Aphrodite if she means to pass her on, as a slave to a slave-market, to Phrygia or Maeonia (*Il.* iii. 401); and finally, in *Il.* iv. 142, the blood on Menelaos’ white limbs is likened to the purple with which a woman of Maeonia or Caria stains ivory to make a cheek-piece for a horse. The precious ornament is stored in a treasure chamber, envied of many a horseman, but reserved for a king, an adornment for the horse and a glory to the rider. Clearly to Homer Carians and Maeonians are merchants and artists, not fighters.

Lykia is about 400 nautical miles from Troy—a five-days’ run under the most favourable circum-

stances. It is twice as far as "far away" Axios and Askania, but much nearer than Alybe—in fact at about the same distance as the Paphlagonians. But, of course, in reality a much longer time than five days would be taken. Probably as much as two months would often be consumed in fighting headwinds and rounding promontories. A visit to the market at Troy was probably enough for a season. We may imagine the slow merchant ships working gradually up along the coast in May and June, when south-westerly breezes may be caught from time to time; stopping for trade and fresh cargo at every harbour along the coast; unloading at Assos, and setting the precious goods on the backs of mules and horses to traverse the rough hill-tracks to the plateau under the walls of Troy; staying there to barter and reload through July and August, and returning more easily, while the Etesians still last, to the far-away home on the eddying Xanthus.

But it is needless to speculate outside our text. It is enough to point to the plain fact that all the radial lines of the Trojan allies lead straight to what were the chief centres of trade in the early days of Greek colonisation, to Miletus, Amphipolis, Cyzicus, Sinope; and to draw the obvious conclusion that in the days immediately before that time they were already the dominant trade routes. The Catalogue of the Trojan allies, in fact, preserves the tradition of the chief peoples whom the Greeks met when they went to Troy for the annual fair.

One can reconstruct the scene. It begins in July, when the Paphlagonians have had two good months for their long coasting voyage. The actual fair takes place on the low, nearly level ridge at the end of which stands the castle of Troy. The lord of the castle is the presiding genius of the scene; his vassals from the surrounding country gather to provide horses and mules for carriage, to build wooden booths, *κλιμα*, for the merchants, and to render the thousand little services which bring in reward at such a time. He has a strong garrison—hardly an army, but a force large enough to keep order, and to carry out what is his primary task, the exaction of tolls on every convoy. The shore of the Hellespont is busy with the arrival and unloading of the ships of the Thracians. There too, or to Besika Bay if the wind serves better, come the Greeks, running in from Lemnos day by day. Over the hills from the east and south come the caravans of local country produce, and the valuable cargoes of the ships of the Lykians and Maeonians, windbound at Assos. Wine from Thrace is bartered against stuffs and leather-work from Caria. Wool, hides, wheat from the rich plains of Phrygia are going south and west, and the neighbouring farms of Mysia are driving a busy trade in fodder, oxen, and food for the assembled crowd. But the great point of interest is the arrival of the Euxine fleet, with its freight of timber, silver ore, cinnabar, and of course a plentiful store of the most marketable commodity of all, slaves. No doubt they bring with

them, too, specimens of worked iron, still unfamiliar to the men of bronze—knives and arrow-heads and other small things, costly but eagerly bought up. And among them the Greek traders are walking, curious to learn all about the lands whence these things come, and muttering that where Paphlagonians could come down Greeks could go up; why should they pay toll to Priam for the privilege of trading with these rich and unknown lands? They must have glowered at those great walls, holding the wealth wrung from their hands, and still worse, sheltering the garrison which so effectively blocked any attempt to run the gauntlet of the Hellespont.

When August was over, and only two months remained for the voyage back, Paphlagonians and Lykians laded their ships, or so many of them as they had not sold, with the goods they had bartered, and set sail for home. The booths were deserted, and Priam and his retainers sat down to feast through the winter months on the toll they had taken. The “great town” of Troy vanished till next year, and the Trojan country-folk returned to their villages. The Greeks went home to tell one another the old tale of how, many years before, there had been an older Troy—the “fifth city” as we call it now—which had been taken and burnt by their own legendary hero Heracles, and to talk over plans by which the hated barrier could once more be removed.

One thing was plain: those great walls of smooth thick masonry could be neither stormed nor breached

by any means within their power. But was it not possible to mask the fortress, and starve it out? By establishing a strong camp at the mouth of the river they could secure the essential command of water; Lemnos would serve as a base of supplies. They could cut off all the trade of the north and east, on which Troy had grown rich; and from their camp they could by continual raids make it dangerous for the inhabitants of the fort to leave the walls, except in battle array. And with command of the sea they could effectually disable the trade route from the south by laying waste all the towns in the Gulf of Adramyttium through which overland communication might be kept up. Troy could not be besieged, or effectually invested, with the forces at their command, but it might be starved and impoverished by cutting off the resources of its wealth. Even to do this would require a combined effort of the whole of Greece. But the cause was a common one; pressure from the north was making expansion towards the east a matter of life and death to Greece.

This is the plan of campaign which the *Iliad* describes in course of execution; and it seems an eminently rational one under the circumstances. The fight is one "between a whale and an elephant"; the Greeks have command of the sea, but they dare not venture far from it. There is no trace in the *Iliad* of any inland expedition farther than the three miles which separate the walls of Troy from the shore. We often speak of the "siege of Troy"; but there is

no siege of Troy in Homer—the only action that can be called a siege is the attempt to storm, not Troy, but the Greek camp. It is true that in *Il.* vi. 433–9 Andromache speaks of such an assault as having failed in the past, but there is no question of any escalade in the action of the *Iliad*; that Patroclus in *Il.* xvi. 702 “thrice clomb on the corner of the lofty wall” is a proof of overweening presumption which at once brings down divine punishment.

Nor do we hear of any great defeat of the Trojans before the action of the *Iliad* begins. The boast of Achilles is not that he has defeated Hector, but that Hector dared not face him in the open. The attack on Aeneas of which we do hear is made, as we have seen, in the course of a cattle-raid, not of a pitched battle. The fighting has been essentially guerilla warfare. The plain of Troy has been rendered dangerous for any but a strong force. The daughters of the Trojans can no longer wash their clothes in the spring, hardly 200 yards from the walls (xxii. 256). The son of Priam himself must go out stealthily by night to cut some willow-wood in his father’s plantation; and even then he has bitter cause to repent this temerity, for he falls into the hands of the prowling Achilles (xxi. 35–9).

Yet there is no actual investment of Troy. The approach from the land side is always regarded as open. Troops come to the help of Troy not only unhindered, but unnoticed. In xiii. 794 the reliefs from Askania have marched in the previous day.

The possession of Abydos and Sestos, too strong, it would seem, for any attack by the Greeks, keeps open communication even with Thrace, in the very rear of the Achaian position: Rhesos, with his troops and chariots, enters Troy unknown to his enemies (*Il.* x. 434); and by the same route the ransomed Lykaon is returned from Imbros to his family (*xxi.* 40-43). The fortress can no more be starved by famine than it can be stormed by force.

But Troy, though it cannot be taken, is being slowly bled to death by the exhaustion of its economic resources. Though the entry of troops and food cannot be hindered, it is at least possible to make it a place to which no trader will come, and so to exhaust the accumulated wealth which has sprung from its favoured position in the past. This is the picture which is put before us throughout, most clearly in the words of Hector (*xviii.* 287-92): "Have ye not had your fill already of being pent behind the towers? Of old time all mortal men would tell of this city of Priam for the much gold thereof, but now are its goodly treasures perished out of its dwellings, and much goods are sold away to Phrygia and pleasant Maionia, since mighty Zeus dealt evilly with us." Hector's argument is, "you have tried the policy of sitting still within your walls, where you are safe; and the result is that you are being worn down by loss of wealth. The only safety that we can find now is in the offensive."

Achilles too speaks of the impoverishment of the

rich city (ix. 401): "For not of like worth with life hold I even all the wealth that men say was possessed of the well-peopled city of Ilios in the days of peace gone by, before the sons of the Achaians came." Of the burden of subsidies to the allies we hear in xvii. 225: "For this end am I (Hector) wearying my people by taking gifts and food from them and nursing thereby the courage of each one of you." The picture vividly describes the plight of a city whose wealth is founded on commerce only; which depends upon an army sufficient for police purposes in times of peace, but inadequate to meet a foreign invader. Its only resource in the emergency is to hire mercenaries from outside; and where should they be sought but among the nations who had a vested interest in the maintenance of existing trade against an aggressive and growing people who sought to control commerce to their own advantage?

The Great Foray now falls into its place as an important element in the strategy of the campaign. The mere sacking of a town, the slaughter of the men and the enslavement of the women, was, as we see from the engagingly frank opening of Odysseus' tale to the Phaeacians (*Od.* ix. 40), no more than what would be described in modern slang as a simple "business proposition," in itself independent of military significance. But when a systematic expedition was carried out against all the towns on the northern shore of the Gulf of Adramyttium, it had the very important result of hindering at least, if not

entirely cutting off, the supply of reinforcements from the south. Ships bringing fresh troops and supplies from Lykia would find themselves helpless when they landed after the ravages of Achilles. The towns were ruins, the flocks and herds carried off; how were the new-comers to find food and transport for the march to Troy? The wasting of Pedasos, Lyrnessos, and Thebe cut off all the passes by which the mountains could be crossed, unless the troops were prepared to rely on their own resources and local knowledge. The Foray was a severe blow at Sarpedon.

For the "allies" were not in all cases mere mercenaries; some of them at least must have entered for reasons of state into a real national alliance with Troy, all the more real because it was founded not, perhaps, on a treaty, but on grounds vital to national existence. Paphlagonians, Thracians, and Mysians came to the best market for the disposal of their natural products; but their goods were certain to be in demand whatever political conditions prevailed. They probably were willing to trade with Greeks wherever they found them, and we do not hear of any very important part which they played in the fighting. There is nothing to hinder us from supposing that their forces were actually mercenaries, attracted as much by the desire of pay as by any wide outlook on national expansion. But with the Lykians the case was different. They were not producers but merchants; we have seen that all the

conditions point to their having carried on trade as middlemen between the lands to the south-east and the mart at Troy. If they lost command of the coasting trade from the Xanthus northwards, they were ruined.

And we can see that their position was seriously threatened. In Homer the Achaians are already in possession of Rhodes, commanding the narrow channel by which the Lykian ships had to pass northwards, and even better placed than Lykia for commerce in every direction. Tradition tells us that the Trojan War was soon succeeded by the thalassocracy of Rhodes; and to the Lykians it must have been evident that this would be the result of the fall of Troy. The Achaians were striking at the very heart of their northern trade; with the friends of the Rhodians in command of the Hellespont Lykia must be ruined. It was a matter of life and death to them that Troy should stand, prosperous and peaceful, a power from whom there was nothing to be feared and everything to be hoped.

Hence it is, because they were in reality fighting their own battle, that the Lykians are in a quite special sense the allies of Troy. Not only are they prominent alike in war and counsel, but they alone are represented by their royal house. Nowhere else is any leader of the allies said to be the king of his country; but the Lykians are led by both their kings, the heads of the two branches of the royal family, as is set out for us in great detail in the famous meeting

of Diomedes and Glaukos. In war, Sarpedon is second in importance only to Hector himself, and receives divine burial with more solemn circumstance than the Trojan prince. The friendly relations of the Lykians with Achaia, too, are set before us—in the old days when they were the great merchants of the Aegean, and perhaps contracted for the building of the walls of Tiryns, which, as we know, were constructed by “Cyclopes from Lykia.” But the days were over when a king of Argos could employ a king of Lykia for a confidential murder. The northern pressure was forcing those who were once customers to seize the trade themselves, and the Lykians had turned to bay. Doubtless they had already had many a severe battle with their nearest rivals at Rhodes; it is not without a meaning that the one leader with whom Sarpedon fights hand to hand before his final duel with Patroklos is Tlepolemos, the chief of the Rhodians. Tlepolemos is killed—Lykia defeats Rhodes for a time; but Sarpedon falls before Patroklos—the final triumph is for the Achaians.

Historical parallels are tempting but dangerous. Yet I cannot refrain from noticing that the struggle for the Hellespont is still in being; and that within the memory of living men allies from distances far exceeding that between Lykia and Troy were fighting side by side to aid a power whose only strength was that it blocked the passage from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. The essential difference between the two cases is not that the pressure comes now from

the East instead of the West ; but that the allies command the sea, whereas the Lykians clearly had no navy to trouble the communications of the Greek invaders.

From the list of traders with whom we have been dealing one familiar name is conspicuously absent. Where were the Phenicians ?

That they did not attend the annual fair of Troy, and do their full share of bargaining there, is hardly to be believed. The *Iliad* itself tells us of their presence not far off ; they had been in the harbour of Lemnos, and given to King Thoas there a great bowl of silver, which surpassed for beauty all that were in the earth (xxiii. 741-747). But elsewhere the *Iliad* knows them not as traders in the Aegean. Only once beside are the Sidonians named (vi. 289-292) ; they made the embroidered garments which were treasured in Priam's house. But these had not been brought to Troy by Phenician merchantmen ; Paris himself had brought the workers from Sidon, on the journey when he carried Helen away.

It is easy to guess that the Phenicians were not the men to interfere in a quarrel which did not directly concern them. Probably in any case their ordinary trade with the north was largely done through the emporia of Lykia, and Rhodes also was no doubt rapidly extending its commercial relations. The Phenicians did not depend upon the Black Sea trade as did the Greeks ; their particular sphere of influence was rather in the western Mediterranean,

and along the shores of Africa from Egypt to the Pillars of Hercules. When war was being waged at Troy, the northern Aegean can hardly have been a safe resort for the neutral trader; everything was contraband of war on which Odysseus and his like could lay their hands. The Phœnician, as soon as he found the market closed at Troy, reserved his energies for the western factories, we may be sure, and contented himself with doing through Lykia and Rhodes what little trade remained, well content to let the middlemen share the hard knocks while he turned to the development of the other illimitable fields which his energy had opened up. As soon as things settled down again, and new markets had established themselves under altered conditions, he was ready, we may depend upon it, to take up the fresh threads, to reopen his gold mines at Thasos, and refound his factories at every centre where there was trade to be done.

We now see why it was that Troy never recovered from its capture by the Achæians, but lingered on, *honoris causa*, first a place of pilgrimage, then the honorary president of a religious league of towns, each far more prosperous than itself, then a great monument of Roman piety; till the spread of Christianity abolished its one claim to dignity, and reduced it to a pasture for the flocks of the villagers round. It was not the capture, but Greek colonisation, which destroyed Troy. It had one merit only—that it could block the Hellespont to the west. As soon as the west had taken possession of both

shores of the Hellespont, Troy was for practical purposes useless. The strategic point moved to Sestos and Abydos ; these were needed to close the passage from north to south, under entirely new conditions. Trade moved to better harbours and the mouths of the valleys which brought the products of the interior to the sea. But this was no more than a local traffic. The wares of Olbia, Sinope, and the other cities of the Euxine passed through, unhindered and untaxed, to the markets of the west and south, to Miletos, Athens, or Alexandria. Troy, without harbour or natural strength, could have no share.

It is indeed a remarkable testimony to the power of sentiment in human affairs that the glamour of Homer should have done so much for Troy as it actually did. On purely sentimental grounds the thoughts of statesmen turned more than once to the idea of making Troy the great city of the world ; but the disabilities of its position were too much for them. Alexander's projects resulted only in the greatness of a rival neighbour, Alexandria Troas, where an artificial harbour was a possibility. Augustus thought of making Ilium the seat of his empire, but Horace had the true instinct when he prophesied that such an elevation would be followed by another fall as great and signal as the former. Constantine actually began to build his capital there, till the overwhelming advantages of Byzantium induced him to abandon the project before it was too late. Nothing could restore the one condition which made Troy important. Even

when the Turks came, and once more closed the straits, it was not to Troy that they went ; the range of cannon led them to build their forts in the Narrows higher up ; and the town of Dardanelles, where every ship must pass up in daylight and show its papers, is the real representative of the ancient Ilios.

The argument then is briefly this. Given the known data—the Hellespont an essential economic necessity to Greece, but blocked by a strong fort, and the expansion of Greece to the Euxine at the beginning of the historical period—there must have been a point at which that fort was taken by the Greeks. And it must have been taken much in the way which Homer describes, by a process of wearing down. A war of Troy therefore is a necessary deduction from purely geographical conditions, and the account of it in Homer agrees with all the probabilities of the case. And it must have taken place at the very point of expansion which is depicted in the Catalogue—when the Achaians had occupied Greece and stretched across the islands as far as Rhodes. Their next step must be to the mainland. They are faced by a hostile, or at least foreign, population along the whole western coast of Asia Minor. All geographical conditions point to the mouth of the Hellespont as the strategic point of attack ; there they can not only win the trade which is their chief object, but they can strike a telling blow at all the peoples of the mainland, especially the most formidable of them, the Lykians. The

whole situation described in the *Iliad* is absolutely in accord with the inferences which are to be drawn from geography on the one hand and the ruins of Hissarlik on the other.

We get moreover by the way a certain confirmation even for that much vaguer and more evanescent legend, the story of the Argo. We have seen that something at least of the southern shore of the Euxine was known to the Greeks before they had forced their way in as masters of commerce. That individual voyages of exploration had been undertaken before the great step to the mainland was made is certainly to be assumed, even without this confirmation from Homer. The voyage of the Argonauts contains a vague record of this fact, but so mixed up with tales of fairyland that we can do no more than recognise the outline. The Argo passes out of the region of tangible geography as soon as she enters the Euxine, and we must not linger on her here.

The difference between the stories of the Argo and of Troy may serve indeed to measure the degree in which the *Iliad* is historical. A greater gulf can hardly be imagined than that between the geography of the one and the other. There is nothing in the geography of Homer which can be shown to differ from facts still to be verified; it may almost be said that beyond the Propontis there is nothing in the Argo legend which bears any relation to reality. Yet the two tales grew up in the same atmosphere

and were handed down by the same people from times which were at least not far apart. The tale of the Argo rested on sailors' stories mingled with fantastic mythology. The tale of Troy must from the first have been limited by a tradition of actual facts. My conclusion is that there existed a real record of real events, and that out of this the *Iliad* grew.

Further than this we cannot safely go, so long as we need solid ground under our feet. But we have gained a starting-point for fancies which may not be wholly baseless. It may surely be that there is handed down from the days of the war something more than the record of countries and peoples as they then were. It is at all events within the limits of possibility that men as well as tribes are real; that Agamemnon, Priam, Achilles, Hector, Odysseus are the names of men who fought under Hissarlik. It may be that the quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles was a real quarrel which took place in the Achaian camp, and had serious effects upon the campaign. I am not sure that we need even be too incredulous about Helen.

The ostensible cause of war is almost always some point of honour; the ultimate cause is, almost without exception, economic. Who can say if the abduction of some fair queen was not the last straw which broke the Achaians' patience, and determined them to set out on the expedition which they must long before have planned? While they were fighting

for trade, they may well have believed themselves to be fighting to revenge an insult. The most sordidly commercial war which England ever waged was dignified by its point of honour, characteristically embodied, after the fashion of the eighteenth century, in Jenkins' ear. The stealing of a queen was no unlikely event even in Mycenaean days; Herodotus opens his history with the Phœnician version of the story, which agreed that the war began with a kidnapped princess, though place and details differed. Helen is of course more than half mythological; whether some fraction of her is historical one would hardly like to say, but it is legitimate conjecture that her abduction, if not her parentage, had something to do with the landing on the Hellespont.

Be this as it may, we can at all events recognise behind the *Iliad* the expression of a great spiritual uprising. It is clear that the Greeks saw in the capture of the Hellespont the critical point of national expansion, the step which brought Greece out of the limits of little local tribes into the atmosphere of the large human world, and opened the career of colonisation which made them the creators of modern Europe. All such epochs of sudden expansion are creative intellectually as well as politically, and the Greek as he saw the world opening out before him was naturally tempted to record his exploits. It is no degradation to Homer to find behind the poems a struggle for trade; there is no outburst of activity such as carries nations to new worlds beyond the seas

which may not in the last resort be reduced to questions of bread and butter. But it is not the need of food for fresh mouths of which a nation at such times is actually conscious. It is rather the widening of the spiritual view called forth by successful effort and novel adventure which calls for conscious record. It is in this that the significance of the Iliad and the Odyssey alike is to be found. Greece was destined to spread not only to the east, but to the west. The conditions of advance in the two directions were different, but both have been recorded in the two poems. As the Odyssey tells the story of the struggle against the terrors of the unknown in the seas of the west, the Iliad embodies the more human tale of battles with the sturdy enemies who blocked the path near at hand in the east.



CHAPTER VII

THE PELASGIAN NAME

I tell you, captain, if you look in the maps of the 'orld, I warrant you sall find, in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth, that the situations, look you, is both alike.—

SHAKESPEARE.

OUT of the argument of the preceding chapters have arisen numerous subsidiary problems. Most of these would lead us far afield, and beyond the scheme of the present book. Two of them, however, are more intimately connected with it, and to these the two last chapters will be devoted. The meaning of the name of the Pelasgians in Homer needs fuller discussion, if the interpretation which has been given to their appearance in the Catalogue is to be adequately supported; and the connexion of Sestos and Abydos illustrates vividly the conditions of navigation in the Hellespont on which my view of the prehistoric importance of Troy is entirely based.

The Pelasgian name has long been surrounded with so dense an atmosphere of wild hypothesis that one would gladly avoid it and stay in clearer air. But the occasions on which it occurs in Homer are

so few, and at the same time so curiously separate and unlike in circumstance, as to demand explanation, even apart from the "Pelasgian theories" of later Greece. What is the link which binds together Pelasgians in the Troad, Pelasgians in Crete, the Pelasgian Argos in the realm of Achilles, and the Pelasgian Zeus to whom Achilles prays?

Any enquiry must of necessity start from the fact that at the very first appearance of the Pelasgians in literature, and in a document whose historical importance I hope I have proved, the Pelasgians are not a tribe at all, but a collection of tribes.¹

Now a collective name applied to a number of tribes may mean either of two very different things. It may be a national name implying a racial or at least a political unity, as for instance the Achaian

¹ This alone is sufficient to vitiate the whole argument of Mr. Myres's ingenious but fallacious article on "The History of the Pelasgian Theory" in *J.H.S.* xxvii. 170 ff. His curious idea that the Homeric Pelasgians dwelt in Thrace seems to be based on a misquotation, the Homeric order of names, Sestos, Abydos, and Arisbe, being inverted, with the result that he thinks that this part of the Catalogue ends in Europe instead of Asia. His treatment of the adjective Πελασγικός as independent of the substantivè is in my opinion indefensible. In the interests of accuracy many over-hasty statements of fact require correction. For instance, the plain of Larisa, as we have seen, is not "a mere coast-strip" but a rich alluvial river basin running several miles inland. Larisa is not "only fifteen miles on a straight road"—Mr. Myres means of course in a straight line; there are no straight roads in the Troad—"from Troy" but twenty-four. It is not "fully in sight of it," but completely concealed by intervening hills, so that Strabo's phrase is not "wholly justified," but decisively refuted, "when tested on the spot." It is not the fact that "in the whole Trojan Catalogue only the Alizones and the Lycians come Πηλόων"; the same is said of the Paeonians and Phrygians. *Il.* xx. 92-6 does not say, or imply, that "Leleges and Trojans inhabit Lyrnessos and Pedasos." I have taken all these instances from three pages, 173-5, as bearing directly upon what I have had to say with regard to the Pelasgians of the Troad. The list might be enlarged from other parts of the paper.

and later the Hellenic name. With these instances before them it is only natural that the Greeks should have supposed the Pelasgian name to cover some such a national unity as their own.

But it may mean something quite different from this. It may be applied to tribes which are associated under some grouping which, from the national point of view, is purely casual and indifferent.

Of this we can find near home a case which offers a striking analogy. To the Teutonic tribes of Central Europe all their neighbours to the west and south were "Welsh." Gauls, Britons, Italians, Dacians alike were included under the common name; and the link between them is, on the negative side, that they are non-Teutonic, "Foreigners"; on the positive that they are included in the Roman Empire, and that the Latin language prevails, more or less, throughout their lands. But it was not language alone which formed the link; for the Gauls themselves had received the name before their conquest by Rome; and as we know from our own Cymric Welsh, the original tongue was not always superseded by the Latin. The one bond which unites the Welsh of Wales and Cornwall, the Gauls of France, the Walloons of Belgium,¹ the Italians of "Wälsch-Tirol," and the Wallachs or Vlachs of the Balkan Peninsula is that they are to the Germans the *march-men*, the peoples beyond the Teutonic border. To this day in

¹ It is doubtful if the Valaisians of Switzerland are to be added; the name may be derived from the Roman "Vallis Poenina."

Germany "wälsch" may mean either French or Italian. "An early instance of its application to the Roman population of the Eastern Empire is found (c. 550-600) in the *Traveller's Song*, where, in a passage which in all probability connects itself with the early trade-route between the Baltic staple of Wollin and Byzantium, the gleeman speaks of Caesar's realm as *Walaric*, 'Welshry.' In verse 140 he speaks of the *Rum-walas*, and it is to be observed that *Rum* is one of the words by which the Vlachs of Eastern Europe still know themselves." "The name Vlachs, applied to the Romans by their neighbours but never adopted by themselves, appears under many allied forms, the Slavs saying *Volokh* or *Woloch*, the Greeks *Vlachoi*, the Magyars *Olóh*, and the Turks, at a later date, *Ifflók*. . . . The Slavs, at least in their principal extent, first knew the Roman Empire through a Teutonic medium, and adopted their term *Volokh* from the Ostro-Gothic equivalent of the Anglo-Saxon *Wealh*."¹ If only the immortal Fluellen had known that Macedon is in fact largely inhabited by Welshmen!

Are not the Pelasgians then simply the Hellenic Welsh, the men over the border, the Marchmen?² For such an idea there is at least a possible ground in the name; the word $\pi\lambda\alpha\epsilon$ suggests itself, and the Pelasgians may be simply "the neighbours."

¹ *Encycl. Brit.* 11th ed. vol. xxviii. p. 166. The article is unsigned, but is, I believe, by Sir A. Evans.

² Of course I am not suggesting any etymological connexion between the two names.

And in its favour is also the complete failure, after more than 2000 years of trial, to establish the alternative theory, that the word means anything like a national title.

But there is one important difference between the two names. The Pelasgian comes from the times when the Greeks were in steady movement from north to south, and their border was constantly shifting; the Welsh name arose when the Teutonic frontier was at least in the main approximately fixed along the lines where it now lies. Thus, while the Welsh name had time to establish itself, and was often adopted by the very people to whom it was at first foreign, the Pelasgian was continually being changed in its denotation. It marked only a stage, intermediate between the early inhabitants of the peninsula who knew not Achaians, and the fully Hellenised folk who appear in history.

The invasion of Greek tribes from the north proceeded no doubt by stages of rapid advance, alternating with long halts, especially in front of marked geographical features which served to impede progress. Only when the halts extended over many years would the name of Pelasgian crystallise into a more or less permanent appellation such as could serve to denote places or districts when their inhabitants had been absorbed into the ever-advancing Hellenic world. We can trace in the local distribution of the name in Greece three or four stages at which such long halts must have taken place.

The first great barrier which lies in the path of immigrants from the north is Olympus, with its continuation to the west, through the Cambunian Mountains and the ranges of North Epirus, hardly anywhere falling below the 3000-foot level. That the Greek invasion was long kept north of this is suggested not merely by geographical conditions but by the important part played by Olympus and Pieria in religion and mythology. While the Olympian system was in process of birth, the Pelasgians or march-men of the day were of course the inhabitants of the southern slopes of the mountain range. Their name has accordingly perpetuated itself in two districts. To the east, on the southern slopes of Olympus, lay the Pelasgiotis of later days, the Plain of Larisa and the lower Peneios; while further west and equally under the shelter of the barrier ridge from the north was Dodona, a "seat of the Pelasgians" (Πελασγῶν ἱερατεῖον) to Hesiod, and on the still more ancient and unexceptionable testimony of Homer the dwelling of the Pelasgic Zeus.

But in course of time the migrants left their homes in Pieria and the Haliacmon valley, and passed further southward; the peoples of Thessaly and Epeiros were conquered, probably by a peaceful process of absorption. They were no more Pelasgians, but a new element in the Achaian nation. But it was not long before the southward stream was again barred. Alike to those who came down by Epeiros and to those who overflowed the plain of Thessaly

there was opposed a new mountain dam; the next plain, that of the Spercheios valley, was protected to the north by the range of Othrys, to the west by that of Tymphrestos. Before these were passed another halt was made; the inhabitants of this plain had become Pelasgian to the invaders, and their home was "the Pelasgian Plain," τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄγρος¹ —for there is no reason to doubt the statement that Argos once meant Plain in some pre-Hellenic language of Greece. This halt again was long enough to stereotype the name for a time, and preserve it when the invasion passed onwards; so that we still find it remembered in the Homeric Catalogue, though the memory of it perished later.

The next halt called by natural obstacles was in Boeotia, by the long barrier of the Gulf of Corinth, and its continuation eastwards in the ranges of Cithaeron and Parnes. The Pelasgians of that day were the inhabitants of the opposite shore of Peloponnesus² and of the well-protected peninsula of Attica. And because we are now reaching the limits of legendary memory, the name becomes more firmly fixed. The Pelasgianism of Attica was an article of faith, and it is not impossible that the name of the Kranaoi, whom Herodotus, in true Homeric fashion, calls "a tribe of the Pelasgians,"³ and regards as primitive inhabitants of the country, may actually be a rare survival, and preserve the actual title by

¹ Allen in *C.Q.* iii. 88.

² Πελασγοὶ Ἀιγαίαις, Herod. vii. 94.

³ Herod. viii. 44.

which a tribe, known for a time to the Achaians as Pelasgoi, actually called themselves.

And at this time the advancing hosts learnt to know another "Pelasgian Plain," the most famous of all in later legend, which never lost its name of Argos. It was marked out by nature as the centre of dominion for the northern Peloponnesus in early days, and when the Achaians fringed the opposite shore of the Gulf we can well understand that it was for them the Pelasgian Plain beyond all others. It is not to be wondered at that this should be the prevalent sense of "Pelasgian Argos" in the Attic tragedians,¹ and that historians and geographers should have been hard put to it to explain the fact that the Homeric Pelasgian Argos was in quite a different place. But the duplication of the name seems natural enough if we once grasp the idea that for the immigrants the next plain beyond them was always the Pelasgian Argos of the moment, so that in all probability there was no plain in Greece which had not in its day received the title. All the others had lost it after a short time; in one case it had lasted long enough to receive a mention in Homer, but no longer.

The final stage, so far as the mainland was concerned, came when the immigrants had swarmed over Attica and reached the Peloponnesus. They occupied at first only the coasts and lower plains. The ranges which surround Arcadia on all sides still

¹ Aesch. *Supp.* passim, *P. V.* 860, etc.

kept them at bay for a long time. The Arcadians had come to be the Pelasgians of the period; and because their Pelasgicism was the latest and best remembered, it was regarded in historical times as the most genuine and original; and ultimately, by a curious inversion of the real sequence, all other Pelasgians were regarded as descendants of these Arcadians.

We can now see why it was that the name survived only here and there, in connexion with places and not with peoples, in Greece proper; and that we never find any Pelasgians actually dwelling on the mainland. It is of course impossible that we should. Those who for a time had been Pelasgians, just when they stood by the edge of the advancing flood, ceased to be so the moment it had touched their feet and overwhelmed their separate existence. They had never called themselves Pelasgians; it was a name given to express their momentary contact with advancing Hellenism. There is no longer room for the question, "Did Pelasgians ever dwell at this place or that?" We must ask, "At what time were those who dwelt at this place or that Pelasgians to the Achaians?" The name passed on like a wave in water, leaving those who bore it for a time in their old place. In this sense Herodotus is right when he says (i. 56) of the Pelasgian race οὐδαμῆ κω ἐπεχώρησα, while Strabo (xiii. 3. 4) is misled by the wandering of the name when he calls them πολύπλανον ἔθνος καὶ ταχὺ πρὸς ἀπαναστάσας.

It is evident at first sight that, apart from preservation in a few places as a local name, Pelasgian, after the Hellenisation of the whole mainland, must have acquired the meaning of *autochthonous*; it had been applied to the original population exclusively, and had superseded all the older names. It was thus, for those who claimed to be the representatives of the pre-Hellenic population, a mark of dignity and antiquity; and in this sense it was eagerly appropriated by the Athenians. That the most Hellenic nation of Greece should have gloried in the title of Pelasgian shows better than anything else how completely devoid the name originally was of any such connotation as was conveyed by the word "barbarian."¹ It is to Athens and Aeschylus that we owe our first knowledge of the legend of a great pre-Hellenic Pelasgian empire, covering the whole Greek mainland. Whether the story had any historical foundation beyond the fact that Hellas was peopled before the Achaian immigration by a race or races which had attained a high degree of culture, it is impossible to say. The wide distribution of the Pelasgian name tells us nothing about the racial or political unity of such a people, and we may be sure at least that they did not call themselves Pelasgians.

So far we have been dealing with the mainland of Greece alone. Here absorption and Hellenisation were complete; the primitive inhabitants had

¹ In spite of Herod. i. 58.

altogether lost their identity, and been merged in the new nationality. But outside Greece proper this was not the case. There were still left, along the margin of the Greek advance, many ancient tribes maintaining their independent life; Greece could never absorb the whole Aegean coast. To these the title of Pelasgian remained attached throughout the whole of early Greek history, and the so-called Pelasgian theory consisted in the attempts of early Greek historians to bring them into racial connexion with the Pelasgians of the mainland. As we have seen, they were engaged in a wild-goose chase; there was no unity into which they could be brought. But still they were Pelasgians in the old sense of the word—tribes holding out against the northern influx. The Pelasgians of the Troad are a case in point; we have seen how they are in the typical position for the preservation of the name, sheltered on the southern slopes of a mountain range which protects them against the northern stream, and destined to be absorbed, somewhat later than their fellows on the mainland, in the Hellenic tide. We hear of others in similar positions—these of whom Herodotus speaks at Plakia and Skylake on the Sea of Marmara,¹ sheltered, as Mr. Myres points out, by the rugged Kara Dagh along the southern shore; others at Kreston,² and in the Chalcidian Peninsula,³ driven on by the northern pressure till their backs were to the sea; others who had taken refuge in the

¹ Herod. i. 57.

² *Ibid.*

³ Thuc. iv. 109.

islands,¹ Lemnos,² Imbros, and Samothrace.³ All are united by one bond—that they are always on the margin of the Graeco-Thracian advance.

It is not, however, within the scope of this chapter to follow out the history of the later Pelasgian theory. It is enough to say that in my opinion the statements of Herodotus and Thucydides as to traditions of Pelasgian population in this place or that are to be regarded with all respect, and form a good historical foundation; but that their attempts to weave them into a pre-historic stage of Greece, though natural enough, and at first sight reasonable, are in reality no more than an empty speculation. The one solid contribution which Herodotus makes is his explicit statement that the Pelasgians of Skylake and Plakia spoke the same language as those at Kreston, but that it was unknown to their neighbours. This, however, by his own admission does not take us very far, and rather indicates that though a common Pelasgian language was an object of search, there was no other trace of it which could be brought in evidence; *ἦν τινα δὲ γλωσσοῦν Ἰεσσαν ὀ Πελασγοῖ οὐκ ἔγω ἀτρακέως εἰπεῖν* (i. 57).

While leaving on one side these remoter questions, we must enquire somewhat further into the Homeric passages. Let us, therefore, go back to our starting-

¹ Herod. vii. 95. These islanders were presumably Pelasgians at the time of the war; the Catalogue knows of no Achaians in the central Aegean, and the tide of advance has covered only Crete, Rhodes, Cos, and a few small islets off the coast of Caria.

² Herod. v. 26; Thuc. iv. 109.

³ Herod. ii. 51.

point, the Pelasgians of the Troad. It will be observed that, though they occupy the characteristic situation of the Pelasgian name on the mainland, they lie sheltered from the pressure not of Greeks but of Trojans, Phrygians, and Mysians. The Greeks must have applied the name to them on the analogy of their own Pelasgians, in the sense of the original inhabitants of the country as distinct from invaders. It was therefore still matter of knowledge that the Trojan-Phrygian stream was analogous to the Achaian. The name may or may not mean more—that the Achaians were conscious of an actual kinship with the more eastern branch of the immigrants, their immediate foes in the war. Homer does not actually bring out such a feeling; but the community of gods, and the equal share in Olympian sympathy ascribed to the Trojans, do give a general impression of such a consciousness. But allowance must here be made for poetical needs; these prescribed free communication by speech between both parties, and it is certainly not possible to deduce from this that Achaians and Trojans actually spoke the same language. Yet one is inclined to wonder whether the name of Pelasgians may not have been used by Trojans as well as Achaians of their autochthonous neighbours. Such a word may have been part of a common speech-stock, even after a division into separate languages; it may even have been borrowed by Trojans from Greeks, or vice versa, as modern Greece has borrowed the Slav "Vlachos."

Whether or no the name was ever given to such important neighbours as Carians and Lykians it is fruitless to ask. It may have been so; but large national masses such as these had, in their mere size, power to enforce their particular name upon all and sundry, while smaller units had no power of resistance against the tendency to class them under a generic title. Hence it is that the Pelasgians were never more than a chance sum of small tribes, with nothing in common but their position just ahead of the advancing stream, which was destined to overwhelm them, and in so doing to pass their name on to others.

Further, we may see in the relations between the Trojans and their Pelasgians a picture of the conditions under which the immigration took place on the mainland. There is no hostility between the two nations; on the contrary, they act together in war, and, what is more important, they are closely bound together in peace by ties of marriage. Though the Pelasgians have kings of their own, their land is included in Priam's realm¹; they are in fact undergoing the process of absorption, Phrygianisation, just as the Pelasgians of the mainland had undergone the Hellenisation which later tradition expressed in the "coming among them" of sons of Hellen.

The process of permeation seems to have been much facilitated by the readiness of the Greeks of all ages to acknowledge the gods of their neighbours.

¹ *Il.* xxiv. 544-5.

We have already seen how they identified the Mouse-god of the Trojan Pelasgians with Apollo; another clearer and more important case is their identification of the god of Dodona, apparently a tree-god, with their own Zeus. It has been already pointed out that this must have been done before the Achaian invaders had crossed into Thessaly; it was only while they were north of the ranges running westward from Olympus that the inhabitants of Dodona were their Pelasgians.

It was not to those who were settled in Pieria to the east that the inhabitants of Dodona were at this time Pelasgian, but rather to the right wing of the advance, then seated in the valley of the Haliacmon, where it makes its great bend to the north-east. It is to be supposed that a detachment of this right wing passed over the high ridges to Dodona itself, instead of into the plain of Thessaly, and ultimately reached the "Pelasgian Argos," the Spercheios valley, by the passes of Tymphrestos on the west, Hellenising on the way the people of Dodona—if indeed the word "Hellenise" can properly be used of those who were very probably the actual Hellenes. For it is likely enough that the Selloi or Helloi who owned the famous oracle of Dodona were the very tribe whose name passed into that of Hellen and became the national title of all the Greeks—much as the English still commonly use the name of the conquered Britons. If this be the case, it is almost the only instance, with the possible exception of the Kranaoi,

of the preservation of the real native name of any of the pre-Hellenic tribes, anterior to the successive stages of Pelasgian and Greek.

It is only by some such hypothesis that we can explain the curious fact that Achilles should appeal to Zeus of Dodona as his special deity. The Myrmidons, after occupying Dodona and so putting an end to its Pelasgian stage, must have stayed there on their way southwards long enough to adopt completely the god who had previously been to them the god of the men beyond the march, and still retained the ancient title by which he had first become known. They adopted, too, the native Helloi, no longer Pelasgian, and with them poured southwards to the Spercheios valley, where, according to Homer, lived Hellenes as well as Myrmidons.

That the Pelasgian Argos, the home of Achilles, lay here is clear from the Catalogue; for of the three towns named the only one that can be confidently identified, Trachis, lay in the very heart of the plain of Malis. As to the other two, Alos or Halos and Alope, the ancients themselves doubted. The Homeric Alope was commonly identified with a town on the S. slopes of Othrys, the northern shore of the Malian Gulf, and Halos with the town of that name in the Pagasaeon Gulf, within the limits of Thessaly. But there were other competitors in Locris to the S.E.,¹ and it seems improbable that

¹ See the discussion of the whole question in Strabo ix. 5. 5-10; Allen, *C.R.* xx. (1906) 195 ff., *C.Q.* iii. (1908) 88.

the kingdom of Achilles ever extended to the Thessalian plain. What Phthia meant exactly to Homer is a difficult question, and I do not discuss it here; but in any case it cannot have been identical with the Phthiotis of later history. The Spercheios is the native river of Achilles; to this he proposed to dedicate the lock of hair which was ultimately, in despair of return, given to Patroclus, and on the banks of the Spercheios, it would seem, Peleus himself is living (*Il.* xxiii. 141-51). The River God too has his place in the genealogy of the house of Peleus. He is not an ancestor, but enters only in the generation after Peleus, becoming father of a son by Achilles' sister (*Il.* xvi. 173-8). In other words, the family of Peleus is a late arrival, and adopts the River God instead of descending from him as in the case of autochthonous princes.

We see then the significance of Achilles' address to the Pelasgic Zeus of Dodona—"God of the old home of my race, and of the still more ancient people whom we have taken to ourselves." The repeated insistence on the local features of his worship enforces again and again a distinction from the Olympian Zeus. The god to whom he appeals is not the god of the whole nation, but the god of his tribe, whom his forefathers had learnt to know and serve on their western road while their fellow Achaians were still worshipping on the mountain in the east.

I turn aside for a moment to notice that the forking of the immigration into two paths on the

north-western boundary of Thessaly may give some help towards explaining the great crux of the Catalogue (*Il.* ii. 748 ff.), the yoking together of the Enienes and Peraiboi under Gouneus of Kyphos, "they that had their homes about wintry Dodona, and tilled the soil round lovely Titaresios that flows into Peneios." Dodona is separated from the Peneios and all its affluents not only by distance but by the heights of Pindos, and it is hard to see how the two districts can have been under one chief. In historical days the Perrhaiboi are still in the extreme N.W. of Thessaly, while the Enienes or Ainianes are at the head of the Spercheios valley. It would seem that at the time of the Catalogue they were the last comers from the north, and had still retained the consciousness of kinship, perhaps even of obedience to a common chief, though they had, like others before them, turned one part to the right hand and one to the left. The Perrhaiboi settled for good in their permanent home. The Enienes for a time occupied Dodona; whence again they followed the track of the Myrmidons and Hellenes across the rugged hills and through the maze of side valleys to the tempting plain which had once been the Pelasgian Argos.

I have left to the last two passages which are best dealt with now that the main lines of my view have been laid down. The first is *Il.* x. 428-31, Dolon's enumeration of the position of the Trojan allies before Troy:—

πρὸς μὲν ἄλλοις Κάρες καὶ Παίονες ἀγκυλότοιοι
καὶ Λέλεγες καὶ Καύκωνες οἷοί τε Πελασγοί,
πρὸς Θύμβρης δ' Ἐλαχον Λύκιοι Μυσοὶ τ' ἀγέρωχοι
καὶ Φρύγες Ἰππώμαχοι καὶ Μίθιονες Ἰπποκορυσταί.

On the face of it the second line contradicts so much of my view as is involved in regarding the Leleges as one of the tribes of the Pelasgians. In other words, it differs from the Catalogue in regarding the Pelasgians as a single tribe and not as a general name for several. If it is thought that the authority of Book x. is to be set higher than that of the Catalogue, this objection is no doubt valid.

For my own part, however, I prefer to neglect the authority of Book x., and believe that the author, without full knowledge of the earlier geography, was merely piling up the names of tribes which in his day had the reputation of extreme antiquity. We have in fact another instance of the false archaism so characteristic of the book. It is the mention of the Kaukonos which leads me to this view. In the *Iliad* they are mentioned again only once (xx. 329, ἐπὶ τε Καύκωνες πόλεμον μετὰ ἐωρήσαντο), with no hint whatever of home or tribal relations. In post-Homeric times, however, they became more famous; there was a "Kaukonian theory" which made them one of the most ancient tribes of Greece. The *Odyssey*, in fact, knows of Kaukonos in the Peloponnesus, neighbours of Nestor in Triphylia (iii. 366), and there is no reason to doubt this. Plenty of information of a sort will be found in Strabo viii.

2. 11, 17; 7. 5. What is more to the point is the interesting statement in vii. 7. 1; Ἐκαταῖος μὲν οὖν ὁ Μιλήσιος περὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου φησὶν ὅτι πρὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔδικησαν αὐτὴν βάρβαροι . . . Δρυόπων τε καὶ Καυκόνων καὶ Πελασγῶν καὶ Λελέγων καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων καταναμαμάνων τὰ ἔστος Ἰασηοῦ, καὶ τὰ ἕκτος Δέ, κτλ.

It will surely appear very suspicious that here, in the theories of the systematising logographer, we find precisely the same juxtaposition of Kaukones, Leleges, and Pelasgi as in *Il.* x. And it is further suspicious that we should find from Strabo (xii. 3. 5) that the Kaukones were interpolated into the Catalogue by Callisthenes, so as to give them that firm footing in the *Iliad* which the single mention in *Il.* xx. so signally fails to furnish. Καλλισθένης δὲ καὶ ἔγραψε τὰ ἔπι ταῦτα εἰς τὸν διάκοσμον· μετὰ τὸ

Κρῶμινίαν τ' Αἰγιάλῳ τε καὶ ὕψηλοῦς Ἐρυσίνους (855)
ποιεῖς

Καύκωνας δ' αὐτ' ἦγε Πολυκλῆος υἱὸς ἀμύμων,
οἳ περὶ Παρθίων ποταμῶν κλυτὰ δώματ' ἔκιστον.

Strabo makes it quite clear that he knows nothing of these Kaukones, and he is evidently sceptical as to their existence. As the only fact on which we have to build is that they were once arming for war in the Trojan ranks, it is perhaps better not to speculate in detail, and to share in Strabo's doubts. It is at all events not unreasonable to suppose that the author of *Il.* x. took the opportunity of this shadowy allusion to bring together at Troy the trio of peoples who were already, it would seem, associated

by legend or tradition in the Peloponnese. Nor shall I venture to found anything on what may have been a mere similarity of name between some obscure tribe of the Peloponnese and another yet obscurer of Asia Minor. Shadows in the dusk have a way of resembling one another, and it is easy to raise respectable ghosts from them, with the aid of a little imagination.

The other passage still remaining is the catalogue of the peoples of Crete in *Od.* xix. 175-7.

ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοὶ
ἐν δ' Ἐτεόκριτες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,
Δωριεὺς τε τριχίτες, Δῖοί τε Πελασγοί.

It is fairly obvious that here the Pelasgi are not an autochthonous people, as they are contrasted with the "genuine Cretans." The usual view has been that both the Eteocretes and Cydonians are autochthonous, the rest late comers. Why the Cydonians should be singled out of the four for this distinction is not clear—probably only because tradition knew of them nowhere else. *Prima facie* they ought to be immigrants like Achaians, Dorians, and Pelasgi. That, however, may pass; nothing is known of these Cydonians, and we need not trouble about them. Nor can I here deal with the Dorians; as they are never mentioned elsewhere in Homer, one cannot help wondering whether they were not really "another people of the same name," like the Caucones. If not, their presence here is a real crux, of no small importance to the whole Homeric question.

With the Achaians and Pelasgians, however, the case is different. They were, as we have seen, of necessity neighbours on the mainland, wherever the margin of Achaian invasion had reached, for the word Pelasgi meant no more than "neighbours of different race." All that the passage says is that some Achaians and some Pelasgi of the period had both migrated to Crete and settled there. Likely enough that they were already neighbours on the mainland, and had left their adjacent homes together under the stress of some common pressure—for all we can tell, from some early pressure of the Dorians themselves, though this is not necessary. All that is certain is that a race of those who were called for a time Pelasgians had passed over to the island, the name being stereotyped because, side by side with that of the Eteocretans already holding the land, it must lose the general connotation of autochthonous.

Tradition had it that these Pelasgians came from Thessaly. There is nothing against this, but it is only one of many possibilities. For all we can tell they may have come from Boeotia or Attica or the Peloponnese. They may even have come from the Troad, as Mr. Myres thinks;¹ only in that case they had no such connexion with the Achaians settled near them as the passage rather suggests. Crete is of course easily accessible from the north, as Mr. Myres says, for navigators who wish to reach it, and know their way. I cannot agree with him, however,

¹ *J.H.S.* xxvii. 177.

that it is the place to which they would be likely to "drift" from the neighbourhood of the Hellespont. The set of the current would naturally take them not to Crete, but much more to the west. The stream from the Hellespont, as is well known, sets south-westwards through the Doro channel between the S.E. point of Euboea and the island of Andros, where the current and the prevailing N.E. wind combine to make the passage from the south a notoriously difficult one for sailing ships. And the close line of the Cyclades forms as effectual a barrier to drift from the north as Crete itself farther south. A short trial on the map will show how hard it is to draw a line clear of land from any point in Crete to the northern Aegean. Any emigrants who came from Troy to Crete must have had a good many lee shores to avoid before they found it possible to reach their destination. Either the Pagasaeon or the Saronic Gulf, or any spot between them, forms a more likely starting-point than Thrace for a migration into Crete. Drift, on the other hand, might reasonably be invoked to explain such a migration of Pelasgians from Samothrace or Lemnos to Attica as is assumed, for a later date, by Herodotus (ii. 51).

CHAPTER VIII

SESTOS AND ABYDOS

How young Leander crossed the Hellespont.—SHAKESPEARE.

WE have had occasion to consider the Hellespont as a highway, opening a path by sea between the Euxine and the Aegean. But in another important and opposite sense it was a hindrance and not an aid to communication. It lay right across the great road of the nations between Europe and Asia. The route has, for obvious reasons, fallen into desuetude for over 500 years; but the time may come when it will regain something of its ancient importance. In any case the track followed by three great invasions—that of Europe by Xerxes, of Asia by Alexander, and again of Europe by the Turks—must be of extreme historical interest. It has a particular connexion with the Troad; and the most critical point of it, the passage across the narrow arm of the sea, has already forced itself upon us as an element in our consideration of the Trojan Catalogue. Some of the details connected with it deserve further discussion.

Sestos and Abydos are situated at the one spot where the almost straight course of the Hellespont

is broken by a promontory on the one side, the site of Abydos, and a corresponding bight on the other, where lay Sestos. This interruption is sufficient to set up backwaters along the shore, which to some extent nullify the difficulties caused by the rapid current which flows from N.E. to S.W. The site of Sestos was naturally one of great strength, "the strongest fortress of the district," *ἰσχυροτάτου τείχεος τῶν ταύτης*, as Herodotus says (ix. 115). In the pregnant phrase of Theopompus (Strabo, xiii. 1, 22), it was small but well fortified, "and because of this and the current it was mistress of the passage." Sestos was thus an ideal outpost, a *tête-de-pont* without which Abydos could hardly call its land its own. Hence the obstinacy with which the Persians clung to this, their last footing in Europe, as the English clung to Calais; the capture of it was, in fact, the real end of the Persian invasion, and not unworthy of the place which Herodotus has assigned it as the closing scene of his history. For Athens it was always the essential "outpost and garrison of the whole Hellespont" (*φρούριον καὶ φυλακὴ τοῦ παντὸς Ἑλλησπόντου*, Thuc. viii. 62), the Gibraltar which assured them the vital command of the passage to the Euxine.

This point is strongly insisted upon by Polybius (xvi. 29). He relates how Philip V. of Macedon wished to deprive the Romans "of their starting and landing points in these regions," and determined to possess himself of Abydos, in case he might wish to

cross into Asia again ; and takes the occasion to compare the situation with that of the Pillars of Hercules, Gibraltar and Ceuta, very much to the advantage of the Hellespont—partly because of the narrowness of the passage, partly because of the importance and civilisation of the neighbourhood on either side. “The city of Abydos,” he says, “is enclosed on both sides by the promontories of Europe, and has a harbour capable of sheltering vessels at anchor in any wind. With the exception of this haven there is no possibility of anchoring near the town, on account of the velocity and strength of the current in the channel.”

It might seem at first sight that a strait of some 35 miles¹ in length, and hardly anywhere more than 3 in breadth, with shores which on both sides generally shelve to the sea, and are bordered by numerous flourishing towns, with valleys running into the interior, might be crossed at almost any point without difficulty. But all the three invasions which have been mentioned chose the same point, between Sestos and Abydos. The phrase that “Sestos is mistress of the passage” is undoubtedly true for all the

¹ Throughout this chapter I use the word “mile” to mean “nautical mile.” This is always desirable when dealing with charts, and is particularly convenient where stadia are in question. One nautical mile=2027 yards (6080 feet) ; one cable is one-tenth of a nautical mile, or 203 yards, and is within a few yards of being identical with a stade ; the Attic stade being 194 yards, the Olympic 210. I shall therefore always reckon 10 stades to the mile, and the error will be minute. It may perhaps be excusable to add that “knot” means “nautical mile per hour,” and is, so far as I know, the only single word which expresses a rate. To use it as equivalent to “nautical mile” and to speak of “knots per hour” is therefore inaccurate, though very common. “Knots per hour” properly expresses, not a velocity, but an acceleration.

PLATE XXV.



A. NAGARA POINT AND SITE OF ABYDOS FROM N.W.



B. ABYDOS FROM SESTOS.



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Greek period; with one exception this is the only spot where the passage from side to side was suitable for an army under ancient conditions. Now that boats can beat against the wind the case is altered, and sailing boats run constantly between Dardanelles and Maito (Madytos) where the strait is wider.

Two natural forces govern the whole navigation of the Hellespont, the wind and the current. Of these the wind is the more important. The Etesian winds must be taken into account at every step throughout the eastern Mediterranean; but nowhere are they so dominant as here. The following is the authoritative account given in the *Black Sea Pilot* (1908), p. 7:—

“In the Dardanelles, North and N.E. or Etesian winds, named Meltem by the Turks, prevail on an average nine months of the year, whereas the irregular westerly winds last scarcely three months. . . .

“N.E. Winds.—In winter N.E. winds often blow hard for several days, if the wind should have set in from that quarter after a squall; these winds are often accompanied by fog and snow. Navigation then becomes impracticable in the Dardanelles for a sailing vessel.

“In the summer North and N.E. winds are more constant; they are clear, agreeable, and moderate, and the barometer stands high. They spring up generally in the morning, die away with the setting of the sun, and are followed by light off-shore breezes, chiefly in the deep bays. The regular but gentle sea and land wind is called the Imbat, and prevails all through the Archipelago for a considerable time. It lasts some-

times so long that it is not a rare occurrence to see 200 or 300 vessels in Tenedos channel or in the other anchorages, waiting a favourable and enduring breeze. With every slight southerly air they get under way, but only to shift from one anchorage to another, and they reach the Sea of Marmara after having accomplished the distance by short stages. . . .

“During the period from March to September, S.W. and S.E. winds are rarely experienced; at that time it is indispensable that vessels should take advantage of off-shore winds, if it be only to shift from one anchorage to another.”

Let me add to this from personal experience that the N.E. winds of spring, though a sailor may regard them as “agreeable and moderate,” may produce a different impression upon a landsman; I retain a vivid recollection of the north wind which accompanied my first visit to Hissarlik, and Dr. Schliemann kept a meteorological record which bears eloquent witness. I quote the following specimen of July weather from the Appendix vii. to *Troja* (1884). The observations were taken three times a day—morning, midday, and evening—and refer to the year 1882.

July 9. Light north wind.	July 11. Calm.
Violent north storm.	North-east storm.
Light north-east wind.	North-east storm.
„ 10. Light north-east wind.	„ 12. North-east storm.
Strong north wind.	Most violent north-
Calm.	east storm.
	North-east wind.

It is probably not too much to say that on three days

out of four during the sailing season what a landsman would describe as a tearing north-easter is blowing during a good part of the day right down the channel.

But this is not all. A ship has not only this head-wind on its sails to fight with; it has the opposing current under its keel, at least whenever it is in mid channel. The surplus of the enormous masses of fresh water poured into the Black Sea over the evaporation from its surface is enough to cause a stream; and when this is reinforced by the wind, it becomes a very serious matter for a sailing ship. We go back to the *Black Sea Pilot*, p. 14:—

“In the Dardanelles the points projecting from the land have the effect of changing the course of the current by causing eddies, of which, in some parts of the strait, especially in the bays, advantage may be taken by a vessel proceeding eastward with a light wind. In general, along the coast of Europe, where the points are less prominent, there are few eddies; and on the coast of Asia, though favoured by eddies in the bays, a vessel has to go through the full strength of the current when rounding the points.

“The strength of the current, which is variable, depends much upon the direction and force of the wind, and, as will be easily understood, upon the heavy rains and snows of winter, which swell the large rivers falling into the Black Sea. At that time, when it blows hard from the northward, the violence of the current increases, especially in the narrows, where it has been known to attain during the first few

days a rate of 5 knots between the old castles (Chanak Kalessi and Kilid Bahr). During strong south-west winds the current is sometimes reversed. But this is unusual, and as north-east winds prevail nine months of the year, the south-westerly current may be regarded as almost permanent. From Gallipoli to Kum Kaleh, the average strength of the current may be estimated at $1\frac{1}{2}$ knots for the whole distance."

Given these two controlling factors, what are the conditions which will secure on the one hand the fairly rapid passage of a large body of men, and on the other tolerably constant communication between both shores in ordinary times?

One thing at least is obvious; we must have, nearly opposite one another, two harbours which will shelter a reasonably large flotilla of boats in bad weather from the north-east. The south-west does not matter, for in winter traffic ceases and boats can be made safe on land; but protection from the north-east is essential.

A glance at the map will show at once how this limits our choice. Nothing south of the narrows at the Old Castles will do; for there is little enough protection on the Asiatic side, and no harbour on the European; Morto Bay, as we have seen (p. 263), is a dangerous snare. Besides, the high hilly country which blocks this end of the Chersonese makes it very inconvenient for either military or commercial transport. North of Chanak Kalessi three points offer shelter in Asia; Nagara Point,

Lapsaki Bay (the ancient Lampsakos), and just north of it the bight covered by Chardak spit and lagoon. In these three bays, and nowhere else on the Asiatic side, does the Admiralty chart, No. 2429, indicate a sheltered anchorage.¹

Nagara Point is faced on the European side by three bays, each marked with an anchor in the chart; Khelia Liman, nearly due west, the little Bay of Bokali Kalessi about north-west, and Ak Bashi Liman to the north-east. Both Lapsaki and Chardak face the large and well-sheltered bay of Gallipoli. Thus Nagara Point and Gallipoli must be our only choice. And in fact the passage between Kallipolis and Lampsakos did in Roman times rival that between Sestos and Abydos. It is a considerably longer traverse—about four miles in a straight line instead of two; but Gallipoli has the advantage of standing much nearer the part of Thrace where everyone had to go, and the current is not so powerful in the wider channel. On the other hand it is exposed to a heavy swell from the Sea of Marmara. The two places are therefore nearly balanced; it is likely that increased resources under the Romans led to the building of more powerful and seaworthy ships for the traverse, much as steam has made Newhaven a powerful rival to Dover, and that this served to turn the scale. It is certain that Strabo had no idea of any competition between the two; though he does barely mention

¹ The reader is referred to the appended map, which gives the immediate neighbourhood of Abydos from this chart.

Kallipolis as opposite Lampsakos, he says nothing of any such transport communication as that on which he lays stress in the case of Sestos. The change, therefore, must have taken place after his time.

We return then to Sestos and Abydos as the only crossing available in prehistoric and Hellenic times. The position of the harbour of Abydos admits of no doubt; it must have been in the bay south of the point of Nagara Kalessi.¹ Not only is this the best shelter on the whole of the Asiatic shore; but it breaks the current by its long projection and the corresponding recession to the west in Europe, and forms eddies which, as we shall see, afford invaluable assistance to the passage. Let us first see what the *Black Sea Pilot* has to tell us about it (p. 51):—

“Nagara Bay may be said to commence to the north of Keoseh Kalessi. There is good anchorage, in 10 to 16 fathoms at 2 to 4 cables from the shore, in any part of the bay, well protected from north-east winds, and out of the current. The best berth is north of the landing place called the Tekeh. All Nagara Bay is in the eddy current which runs to the northward, the strength of which depends upon the strength of the main current. The Turkish fleet usually lies in this bay.

“Nagara Point, a long low sandy spit, which projects to the westward from the coast hills a

¹ Not to the east, as marked on the chart. The town must have been on the harbour, and no harbour is possible E. of Nagara Point. It would appear from Choiseul Gouffier (*Voyage pit.* ii. Pls. 57, 58) that the only ruins in his day were on the shores of the harbour.

distance of 1600 yards, is distinguished by a large square white fort, Nagara Kalessi, at the north-west angle of which there is a mosque, also white, frequently mistaken for the lighthouse. This fort is built on the site of the ancient castle of Abydos;¹ there is a battery half a mile south-east from it, and another one south of Abydos point.

“Near Nagara Point Xerxes threw across to Europe a bridge of boats, which must have been a mile and a quarter in length. The ancient town of Abydos was probably situated on the hill of which Nagara Point is the prolongation, and on the site where the ruins of a girdle wall are still seen.²”

“Nagara Spit. The extremity of Nagara Point is a sharp-pointed bank of sand that runs out to the westward, shelving gradually under water to a distance of 2 cables from the parapet of the fort, where it drops to 4 fathoms. Outside this the water gradually deepens to 6 fathoms at 4 cables from the fort. . . .”

“The current, the direction of which is here W.S.W., runs strongly over the end of the bank and past the buoy. Vessels should not attempt to pass inside the buoy, as the water shoals suddenly.”

We will pursue the coast a little farther to the north-eastwards (p. 52).

“Abydos Point. From Nagara Point the coast

¹ What may be the authority for this statement I do not know. The point is an obvious place for a castle, if only for collection of customs. The Greek Acropolis can only have been on the highest point of the ridge above the harbour, now crowned by a large battery; see Plate xxv. A.

² This is right. Military restrictions now make it practically impossible to verify the existence of the “girdle wall.”

trends E. by N. a little more than half a mile, at which part the line of grass-covered low coast hills from Dardan Bay extend to the shore, and form Abydos Point, which is a steep-looking cape, about 100 feet high, and shows green or yellow according to the season. It is steep-to, but the bank of rock and sand extends only a cable from the shore, when it deepens suddenly to 13 fathoms. . . .

“Coast. From Abydos Point the coast runs in an easterly direction for 3 miles, and curves round to the north-east for 6 miles to Kodjuk Burnu, the shore being indented by small shallow bays and skirted by a bank of sand and mud, extending in some places to a distance of half a mile.

“This bay is well sheltered from all southerly winds, but a vessel could only lie here in fine weather if the wind blew from the N.E. On all this part of the coast an eddy exists, which, though weak, is made use of by sailing vessels.”

Nor is there any difficulty in fixing the position of the harbour of Sestos on the opposite shore. There are, as has already been said, three anchorages marked, one at Khelia Liman, one at Bokali Kalessi, and one at Ak Bashi Liman. The first can hardly be considered; it is down stream from Abydos, and too far off. Besides, though it is “a well sheltered bay,” “the anchorage is seldom occupied, being subject to squalls, and out of the track of vessels. Sailing vessels pass this part of the strait either with a fair wind or in tow of a tug” (*Black Sea Pilot*, p. 61).

As for Bokali Kalessi, we hear that "under the lee of the point of Bokali a vessel can anchor in 12 fathoms; but as the water shoals very suddenly, it is not recommended" (*ibid.*). We may remark that the shoaling would not be any objection to a ferry-boat drawing little water. The bay, however, hardly recedes, and cannot be called a harbour. We go on, therefore, to "Ak Bashi Liman, a bay of which Sestos Point forms the south-west extremity—three-quarters of a mile broad and a quarter of a mile deep. The north shores are low and sandy, and a small stream falls into the middle of the bay.

"On the hills at the back of Sestos Point, forming the west side of Ak Bashi valley, are the remains of an old Byzantine castle 300 feet above the sea.

"Anchorage. There is good anchorage in Ak Bashi Liman. A depth of 11 fathoms will be found in its centre" (*B.S.P.* p. 92. See Plate xxvi.).

Here was certainly the harbour of Sestos. The old Byzantine castle was called Choiridokastron, "Pig's Castle," and here the standard of Islam was first planted on European soil about a century before the capture of Constantinople.

How was the passage between the two harbours effected? The question is not an easy one; Strabo has described it minutely, with a full sense of its importance, but his words are by no means easy of interpretation, and have in fact often been mistaken. I give here my own translation; the original will be found in Appendix E. :—

“Abydos is a settlement from Miletos, made by consent of Gyges, king of the Lydians; for this district, with the whole of the Troad, was under him, and there is a promontory near Dardanos called Gygas. The town lies at the mouth of the Propontis and the Hellespont, equidistant from Lampsakos and Ilion, at about 170 stades from each. Here is the ‘seven-stadium’ strait dividing Europe from Asia, which Xerxes bridged. The European promontory, which forms the narrows at the bridging point, is called the Chersonese or Peninsula from its shape; the bridging point lies opposite Abydos. Sestos is the chief town of the Chersonese; from its proximity to Abydos it was under the same ruler in times when dominions were not yet limited by continents.¹ Abydos and Sestos are distant about thirty stades from harbour to harbour; but the actual width at the bridge is small on a line running at an angle to that between the towns, on the Abydos side from a point nearer the Propontis, and on the Sestos side in the opposite direction. Near Sestos is a place called Apobathra, ‘the landing place,’ where the bridge of boats was moored. Sestos lies farther in, along the Propontis, up-stream with regard to the current which flows out of it. In crossing from Sestos it is therefore easier to coast a short distance to the Tower of Hero, and then to set the vessel in the stream so as to take advantage of the current. When the passage is made from

¹ This is, of course, an allusion to the union of the towns in the Trojan Catalogue.

PLATE XXVI.



THE HARBOUR OF SESTOS (AK BASHI LIMAN).

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Abydos, it is necessary to coast some eight stades in the opposite direction, as far as a tower opposite Sestos, and then to cross obliquely so as not to have to face the full force of the current.

“After the Trojan War Abydos was occupied by the Thracians, and subsequently by the Milesians. When Darius, the father of Xerxes, burnt the towns on the Propontis, Abydos shared their fate; Darius had heard, on his return from his invasion of Scythia, that the nomads meant to cross after him to avenge their sufferings, and was afraid that the towns would offer them means for crossing. This must be added to other vicissitudes and the lapse of ages as explaining the confusion into which the topography of the region has fallen. Sestos and the Chersonese generally have already been described in the book in which we have dealt with Thrace.¹ Theopompos says that Sestos is small but well fortified, and is connected to its harbour by a double wall enclosing a space of 200 feet,² and that this and the current render it mistress of the crossing.”

It will be noticed, among other points in this interesting passage, that Strabo considers the Propontis to extend as far as Abydos, and the Hellespont to be entered only here. He is consistent in this view, which he states explicitly a few pages before (xiii. 1, 2, p. 581); but Herodotus, like modern

¹ This book is unfortunately lost.

² *κέλαι διπλῆς* naturally does not mean a wall “200 feet long,” as the Lexica say.

geographers, adopts the more natural limit to the N.E., where, just above the line between Lampsakos and Gallipoli, the strait begins to widen out and the conditions of navigation change. The length of the Hellespont from Kum Kaleh to the Strait of Gallipoli, 35 miles, is evidently the distance represented by the 400 stadia or 40 miles of Herodotus (iv. 85). This is a mere matter of nomenclature, which we must not forget in dealing with Strabo.

The position of Abydos is exactly fixed by Strabo as "equidistant from Lampsakos and Ilios"; this is precisely true, though the actual distance to either is overstated, being just 150 stadia instead of 170.¹ This excess is natural enough when the measurement is either by winding tracks along the shore, or by the hardly less devious course of a ship.

It must be noticed that Strabo says that at this point is the Heptastadion which Xerxes bridged; he does not say that the strait is here seven stades wide, and for this we may give him some credit; we could give him more if he had used a less misleading phrase. It would seem that he was afraid of explicitly contradicting Herodotus. The fact is that nowhere, if measured directly from Abydos itself, is the width less than eleven stades, and that Herodotus is wrong when he says (vii. 34), "it is seven stades from Abydos to the opposite shore"—ἑπτα δὲ ἑπτά στάδια ἐκ Ἀβύδου ἐκ τῆς ἀναντίας. The origin of the error is easily traced. When Herodotus is speaking in his fourth book of the

¹ See, however, note 1 on p. 190.

same region (iv. 85) he says that the Hellespont is "seven stades at the narrows"—καταθιδος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ὄντα στενότητα μὲν ἑπτὰ σταδίων, μᾶκος δὲ τετρακοσίων. In this form the statement is perfectly correct; between the old castles, three miles below Abydos, the width is exactly seven cables. It is very natural that Herodotus, having recorded the width, should fall into the error of supposing that the narrowest point was also the best for a bridge, which it happens not to be.

It would seem indeed that the name Heptastadion included the whole of the channel from the old castles to Sestos Point, the strait which on our charts receives the name of "The Narrows." It is a part of the Hellespont which is well distinguished from the rest, not only by the closeness of its shores, but by the marked bend which materially affects the conditions of navigation; both above and below the channel is nearly straight and uniform. Hence we need not be surprised that it should have had a name of its own in ancient as in modern times. Taken in this way, Strabo's statement is perfectly correct, and the error of Herodotus intelligible. We are spared the necessity of assuming, as some have done, that the channel between Sestos and Abydos has been widened by erosion since the time of Herodotus. Such an assumption, in view of the contour and nature of the shores, is quite inadmissible.

Strabo states with approximate exactness the distance "from harbour to harbour." Measuring from the

middle of the shore of Nagara Bay to the middle of Ak Bashi Bay, round the buoy off Nagara Spit, the shortest course for a vessel is close upon three miles, thirty stades.

The next sentence is perfectly intelligible if we remember that the verb *παρὰλλάττειν*, literally "to vary alongside," means in mathematical language either "to lay out" or "to set at, an angle." Astronomical "parallax" is a familiar instance of this use. In measuring the width of channel, we must take the distance at right angles to the axis. Strabo is here pointing out that Sestos and Abydos are not opposite to one another; Sestos in fact lies two miles higher up, measured along the Hellespont or, as he calls it, the Propontis. The shortest distance across, the line of Xerxes' bridge, lies, therefore, at an angle to that between the towns, starting from a point to the east of Nagara Spit, "nearer the Propontis" with regard to Abydos, and reaching the opposite side at a point "in the opposite direction from Sestos," *i.e.* away from the Propontis, or south-westward. The chart shows that from Nagara spit eastwards the coast, as far as Abydos Point, is practically parallel to that by Bokali Kalessi. The line of Xerxes' bridge, in fact, coincided closely with that of the telegraph cable. The two lines of boats must have started one from Nagara Kalessi and the other a little to the east of it, reaching the European shore near Bokali Kalessi. The least distance across, from Nagara to the point of the Bokali delta, is eleven

cables. Anywhere east of this, as far as Abydos Point, the width to the opposite shore is just twelve cables. Only one bridge could start from Nagara Point itself; it is too sharp to give room for two. One bridge must therefore have been a cable longer than the other; and the ratio 11 : 12 is not far from that given by Herodotus when he says that one bridge was composed of 314 and the other of 360 ships. Indeed, as ships of various sizes were used, one could hardly expect the correspondence to be closer.

Now let us consider the details of the passage by boat. We will begin with the crossing from Sestos, as it is the easiest. The largest scale chart, the inset of the "Narrows" in No. 2429,¹ is the only one which marks the inshore currents, and it does not include Ak Bashi Bay. There is, however, a weak eddy ($\frac{1}{4}$ knot) between Bokali Kalessi and Sestos Point, and it is safe to assume that this will also run eastwards in Ak Bashi Bay. A boat starting under the Byzantine castle will therefore be able to gain valuable easting against the main current by running along the north of the bay to the spot where the chart marks *Wall*. Here no doubt stood the "Tower of Hero," and here the boat was steered out into the main current. I assume that the ferry would be able to make quite $2\frac{1}{2}$ knots in still water—this is probably a rather low estimate, but it is better to be on the safe side. This is also the maximum rate of the current in this part, so that, under the least favourable circumstances, a boat

¹ Not given here.

which was steered exactly at right angles to the axis of the current would move, relatively to it, at an angle of 45° . This would bring it to land a good mile east of Nagara Point, which has to be weathered as close as possible in order to get into Nagara Bay. It is therefore possible to set the course a little down-stream, and so to "take advantage of the current." As I work it out, the course should be set not upon Ay Ianni Burnu, at right angles to the current, but on the Chamlik, "a conspicuous clump of seven fir trees" (*B.S.P.* p. 53), duly marked on the chart. This will mean a run of about 45 minutes to the point, and then a pull against the eddy under the point into harbour—the hardest part of the whole passage.

The return journey to Sestos is not such a simple matter; do it how you will, there is no getting over the two miles to be won against the stream. Strabo's words at first seem puzzling; he says, "it is necessary to coast some eight stades in the opposite direction," opposite, that is, to the direction in which we coasted from Sestos. As we coasted up-stream from Sestos, along the Ak Bashi Bay, it seems at first sight absurd that we should coast down-stream from Abydos, and so apparently increase the distance which we have to fight up. But when we remember that our starting point is the middle of Nagara Bay, the difficulty disappears. We must run along the north shore of the bay in order to reach Nagara Point; as from Sestos we began by coasting eastwards, so from Abydos

we begin by coasting westwards. The "tower opposite Sestos" is evidently a tower on the point of Nagara Spit, where the *Black Sea Pilot* places "the ancient castle of Abydos." It is true that the actual distance to be coasted from the innermost recess of Nagara Bay to the spit is less than eight stades—in fact hardly five. But the *Black Sea Pilot* expressly says that Nagara Spit "projects to the westward from the coast hills, a distance of 1600 yards," exactly Strabo's eight stades; and this is what Strabo seems to have meant—we must coast to a point eight stades west of the town of Abydos, which was on the hills.

At Nagara Point we reach the stream in full force. It is useless to try and head directly against it; we "must cross obliquely, so as not to have to face the full force of the current." We shall in fact set our course at an angle of about 45° to the axis of the channel, and shall thus be carried across straight for the mouth of the Bokali stream. As we near the European shore we shall feel the current slacken, and may even get a slight eddy eastwards, so that we shall touch land just by the minaret where a light is now shown.¹ If the N.E. wind is blowing hard passengers will probably land here, and make their way to Sestos, still a good two miles off, by land; a road runs round Sestos Point on a ledge about 20

¹ This is the spot which Strabo calls Apobathra, where Xerxes' bridge was moored. It is not clear that he regards the name as historical, the Landing Place of Xerxes; it may equally well mean the Landing Place for the ferry boat—the "scala" of Sestos, as it would be called now.

feet above the sea. The boatmen will have a hard job to get back to the harbour; but a feeble eddy of $\frac{1}{4}$ knot runs along under the shore, and the water is deep quite close in, so that they may possibly be able to "track" with a rope from the shore. Probably, however, they will prefer to stay in the little bight of Bokali, waiting for the wind to drop at night.

The ferry-boat, it will be noticed, must have been fairly deep in the water, with a keel, and not flat-bottomed; the wind is too powerful a factor to be neglected, and leeway must be provided against as far as possible. It may be taken as certain that all passages were made as far as possible in the early morning and late evening, and not during the high winds of midday. With the current running at its maximum of $2\frac{1}{2}$ knots, and a wind blowing as well, it may be doubted if the passage was practicable at all, unless indeed with a large vessel carrying a considerable number of rowers and able to make some 5 knots, like a swift man-of-war. Such may have been used for military purposes, when time was all-important and cost a secondary consideration, but in Hellenic days they were apparently too expensive for ordinary traffic, whether of travellers or goods. When the Romans introduced them on a commercial basis, as it seems they did, the crossing from Gallipoli became a matter of ordinary business, and the more exposed situation at the mouth of the Propontis (in our sense) could be neglected in comparison with the

gain of time on land. Then Sestos and Abydos fell into decay.

It was my hope to verify by actual experience the explanation suggested in the preceding pages. This, however, was disappointed by the unusual weather of the spring of 1911. That season was abnormally late and cold throughout the whole of Asia Minor and Turkey. The Etesian winds had not set in by the end of May, and on the only day which we could devote to the crossing, in place of the north-easter which we had a right to expect, we were favoured with a brisk breeze from the W.S.W. This of course made the passage perfectly easy, more than neutralising the effect of the current. We ran up rapidly from the town of Dardanelles to the harbour of Sestos, taking advantage of the slight backwater between the starting place and Nagara Point, but crossing even the stiff current over Nagara Spit without the least difficulty. On our return, with the current in our favour, and in an excellent boat on a wind, we made Dardanelles in about the same time as it had taken us to come; the breeze freshened considerably while we were at Sestos, and a beat of three "long legs" carried us home; the first took us under the shore east of Abydos Point, the second close to Bokali Kalessi, and the third straight to Dardanelles. These unfortunately favourable conditions made it impossible to verify the course which would have to be taken with a more normal wind, and I have therefore left my explanation as it was written in 1910.

The site of Abydos now bears several forts, access to which is jealously guarded, and we were therefore precluded from ascertaining whether the remains of the fortification wall mentioned in the *Black Sea Pilot* still exist. But ocular inspection is quite sufficient to show that the town of Abydos lay, as I have assumed, to the south of Nagara Point, not on the north shore just east of Abydos Point, where it is placed by Kiepert and the Admiralty charts. There seem to have been some remains here of which all trace has now perished. It is possible of course that the town may at some time have overflowed in this direction; but of the position of the harbour, and therefore of the heart of the town on the hills just above it, there can be no question. The site of the citadel itself can have been nowhere but on the central and highest point of the ridge running north and south along the eastern shore of the harbour.

On the site of Sestos there is little to be seen. The top is a large plateau, now ploughed and standing high with crops. It is steeply scarped to the north, east, and south, and partly cut off by ravines from the higher mountain to the north-west. It is therefore a place of great natural strength. Of the two long walls mentioned by Strabo we could see no trace; the strata of rock are horizontal and jointed in a way which from a short distance closely simulates masonry; the hopes of antiquity thus raised were, however, in every case disappointed on nearer inspection. But it was striking, as one stood on the

top of the southern scarp, to look at Abydos, and see how from this point of vantage the eye completely commanded the harbour over Nagara Point, and how serious a danger to Abydos this stronghold must always have been in an enemy's hand. For the rest I had to be satisfied with a general confirmation of some of the details which I had before assumed; for instance, we ran within a few feet of the shore near Sestos Point—it would have been quite possible to tow the boat from the path which runs here only a few feet above the water. Possibly the point called Apobathra may have been farther to the north-east from Bokali Kalessi than I had at first supposed; a little valley runs up from a beach suitable for landing, and leads directly to the plateau.

On one point, however, I failed to obtain satisfaction, and must confess that I am even more puzzled than before. I cannot understand how, for the general purposes of traffic, Sestos and Abydos can ever have competed successfully with Kallipolis and Lampsakos. We found at Lapsaki that a ferry-boat runs backwards and forwards every day; the elder children go in it to school at Gallipoli, returning in the evening; and we were assured that the service was hardly ever interrupted by weather. For purposes of military invasion Sestos might have its advantages; Alexander, for instance, would naturally prefer to cross at the greater distance from the Persian army, camped on the edge of the Granicus basin. But to ordinary traffic the journey

along the hilly peninsula lying between Gallipoli and Sestos involved great loss of time, at least for all who wished to proceed eastward from Lampsakos. Even for those going south-westward, to the Trojan Plain or Alexandria Troas, the coast road on the Asiatic side from Lampsakos southward would appear to be a preferable route. I see no reasonable solution of this problem.

A few words may be added to clear up one or two doubtful points connected with Herodotus's account of Xerxes' bridge. Leaving out of sight his error about the width of the strait opposite Abydos, there can, it seems to me, be no reasonable doubt that the bridge ran from Nagara Point to Bokali Kalessi. He says that the European end landed at a beach running down to the shore between Madytos and Sestos, opposite Abydos.¹ This exactly agrees with the description of the little delta at the mouth of the Bokali stream. "Between it (Sestos) and Maitos (the ancient Madytos), on a slightly projecting, low, flat, rounded point, formed at the entrance of the Bokali valley by the stream that runs down it, stands an old quadrangular whitewashed fort, named Bokali Kalessi" (*B.S.P.* p. 61). This is not only the shortest crossing from Nagara Point, or from any place near Abydos, but is the only spot between Madytos and Sestos where a landing could be effected at all, excepting only Khelia Liman, which lies at

¹ ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλληνιστίῳ, Σηστόῦ τε πόλιος μετὰ καὶ Μάδυτου, ἀκτὴ † παρὰ † ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ κούρα Ἀβύδου καταγίον, vii. 33.

double the distance; elsewhere the shores come steeply down to the sea. The particular adjective by which Herodotus describes this shore is uncertain; one can only be sure that it was not "stout" as some MSS. would make out (*παχέα*). No beach can be that. Nor is the shore "rugged" (*τρηχέα*) at a landing-place. Stein's conjecture, *πλατέα*, "flat," seems to be absolutely required.

The other passage on which I have to touch is in vii. 36. *ἐξεύγνυσαν δὲ ὧδα, πατηκοντέρους καὶ τριηρέας συσθέντες, ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐβαίου πόντου ἐκίκοντά τε καὶ τριηκόσιας, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν <τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Ἑλληνπόντου> τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα καὶ τριηκόσιας, τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας τοῦ δὲ Ἑλληνπόντου κατὰ ῥόον, ἵνα ἀνοκωχέσῃ τὸν τόμον τῶν ὄλων· συσθέντες δὲ ἀγκύρας κατήκαν περιμηκίας, τὰς μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἑτέρας τῶν ἀνέμων εἶνεκα τῶν ἔσωσαν ἐκπνεόντων, τῆς δὲ ἑτέρας πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου ζεφύρου τε καὶ νότου εἶνεκα.*

The words in < > are not in the MSS., but are an addition of Stein's; had they stood in the text, they might have been confidently expelled as the mere gloss which they are. How can a bridge standing exactly in the middle of the Hellespont have one side distinguished as "the side towards the Hellespont"? We have seen that Herodotus does not, like Strabo, regard the Hellespont as ending at the Narrows. He would, as we see a few lines below, have used *Αἰγαίου* as the antithesis to *Πόντου*. In any case the addition is quite gratuitous.

In the next clause the words τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπι-καρπίας are simply meaningless ; whether the adjective means "oblique" or "at right angles" is indifferent. Will any one say whether the Menai Bridge is at right angles or oblique to the Bay of Biscay? When an angle is employed for purposes of description, it implies reference to something which (1) is near enough for comparison, and (2) at least suggests something in the nature of a line. The Euxine fulfils neither of these conditions. There can be no doubt that Schweighaeuser's νόρου is necessary. With this it will at once appear what Herodotus means. The direction is that which has already been discussed as the line which was taken by the ferry from Abydos to Sestos. It lies "obliquely to the passage," i.e. to the direct passage across the strait northwards, and "down the current of the Hellespont" as we have already seen to be the case. By this arrangement the current will obviously "keep up the strain on the cables,"¹ a most important point; the cables are those laid along the bridge from shore to shore, and serving as the foundation of the actual track. If the bridge were at right angles to the stream, the anchors would take the whole pressure of the current, and the ships would be liable to veer sideways, and so to slacken the cables between them, to the disturbance of the roadway. By placing the bridge a little down-stream, the end-to-end cables are made to take part of the strain, and so remain taut.

¹ The subject of ἀνοκωχῆσθαι is of course βῆσος.

The last sentence seems to me clear in its meaning, though the expression is involved, and the text unquestionably needs alteration; van Herwerden's and Macan's τὰς δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρης in place of τὰς δὲ ἐσπέρης πρὸς ἐσπέρης with the omission of τὰς ἐσπέρης just before would make all clear. Each ship in either bridge—the two are not distinguished here—is moored both stem and stern. There is no absurdity, as Mr. Macan seems to think, in supposing "that the purpose of the anchors, even those from the prows of the vessels, was not to counteract the natural pressure of the stream, or current, but to counteract the effects of the winds." The bridge is meant not for a summer only, but to stand through the winter, when, as we have already seen, the strong S.W. gales may actually reverse the direction of the currents. Herodotus is quite exact in making the winds the dominant consideration. "Those that blow outwards" (from the Propontis) are the N.E. Etesians; those to be expected on the other side are Notos, the S. wind, and —? The MSS. say Euros, the S.E.; an Anonymus followed by all editors has altered this to Zephyros. This properly, in Homer at least, means the N.W., "which blows from Thrace" and would come right along the bridge from end to end. So would Euros in the opposite direction. Neither of these would materially affect the anchors, and if this is still the meaning of Zephyros to Herodotus, there is no gain from this very violent alteration. But it must probably be accepted, on the understand-

ing that the Herodotean zephyr no longer blows from Thrace, but from due west across the northern Aegean.

The feat of swimming from Sestos to Abydos is, as we all know, a possible one. The return journey, however, is a very different matter, and in ordinary circumstances, with the current running at 2 knots or over, superhuman. It is, however, possible to swim from Abydos to the European shore. Mr. Thacher Clarke, one of the very few who have accomplished the feat, tells me that he started from Nagara Point, and by dint of rapid swimming just succeeded in reaching land at Kilid Bahr, opposite Chanak Kalessi, before being drifted past by the current. If Leander followed this course, he would have a walk of nearly ten statute miles before reaching his Hero's tower.

In short, the crossing from side to side is imaginary. Except in a poet's dream, no Leander ever swam to and fro to keep his tryst. The tale is graceful fancy, too delicate to be confronted with hard facts. It differs from the *Iliad* not merely because it is treated as pure romance throughout, but because it never had facts behind it. It has not been subject to the bonds of tradition, whose dominating and tenacious influence has left on Homer, even where his imagination seems most creative, the marks of its indelible control. To the sentimental traveller through the Straits, the tale of Hero and Leander may seem more real, as well as more moving, than



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the battles on the Plain of Troy. But inquiry has led us to a different conclusion. We can say that, while the romance is contradicted by the indisputable testimony of nature, there is no crucial test now accessible which would force us to deny that Achilles chased Hector thrice round the walls of Troy, and slew him at the spot where the waggon-track still passes the springs.

APPENDIX A

ANCIENT EVIDENCE AS TO THE COURSE OF THE SCAMANDER

THE only passages in classical authors bearing on the point are the following:—

Strabo XIII. i. 31. μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ῥοῖταῖόν ἐστι τὸ Σίγαιον, κατεσπασμένη πόλις, καὶ τὸ ναύσταθμον καὶ ὁ Ἀχαιῶν λιμῆν, καὶ τὸ Ἀχαικὸν στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἡ Στομαλίμη καλουμένη, καὶ αἱ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου ἐκβολαί· συμπεσόντες γὰρ ὃ τε Σιμόεις καὶ ὁ Σκάμανδρος ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, πολλὴν καταφέροντες ἰλύν, προσγοῦσι τὴν παραλίαν, καὶ τυφλὸν στόμα τε καὶ λιμνοθαλάττας καὶ ἔλν ποιοῦσιν. . . . 32. ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ μῆκος τῆς παραλίας ταύτης, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥοῖταίου μέχρι Σιγείου καὶ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως μνήματος εὐευπλοούτων, ἐπὶκοντα σταδίων· ὑποπάπτωκε δὲ τῷ Ἰλίῳ πᾶσα, τῷ μὲν Νῦν κατὰ τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμῆνα ἕκοντα δώδεκα σταδίου διέχουσα, τῷ δὲ προτέρῳ τριάκοντα ἄλλοις σταδίοις ἀνωτέρω κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν Ἴδην μέρος.

34. οἱ δὲ ποταμοὶ ὃ τε Σκάμανδρος καὶ ὁ Σιμόεις, ὁ μὲν τῷ Σιγείῳ πλησιάζας, ὁ δὲ τῷ Ῥοιταίῳ, μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Νῦν Ἰλίου συμβάλλουσι, εἴτ' ἐπὶ τὸ Σίγαιον ἐκδιδῶσι, καὶ ποιοῦσι τὴν Στομαλίμη καλουμένην.

36. ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ναύσταθμον πρὸς Σιγείῳ, πλησίον δὲ καὶ ὁ Σκάμανδρος ἐκδιδῶσι διέχων τοῦ Ἰλίου σταδίου εἴκοσι. αἱ δὲ φῆσαι τις τὸν Νῦν λεγόμενον Ἀχαιῶν λιμῆνα εἶναι τὸ ναύσταθμον, ἔγχετο πῶς λέγει τόπον ἕκοντα δώδεκα σταδίου διεστώτα τῆς πόλεως.

Pliny, *H.N.* v. 88. Scamander amnis nauigabilis et

in promontorio Sigeum oppidum. Dein Portus Achaeorum, in quem influit Xanthus Simoenti iunctus, stagnumque faciens Palaeoscamander.

It is evident when Strabo speaks of the "harbour of the Achaians" that he means the nearest point on the shore to Ilium. The "harbour" must therefore be at the extreme east end of the bay; in other words it is the In Tepe Asmak. The "so-called Stomalimne" is plainly the large "Salt Lagoon" marked on the map. It appears to have been generally assumed that the "Naval Station" lay on the Sigeum side of it; but another theory placed it on the east of the Stomalimne. The "Achaian Camp" will then be the strip lying immediately inland of it. No doubt the local ciceroni were able to point out exactly the limits of all these sites. The separate mention of the "outlets of the Scamander," "which open towards Sigeum and make the Stomalimne," shows a general agreement with the present state of things; the Mendere has two mouths, one of which is by Kum Kale, "towards Sigeum," while the other flows into, or in Strabo's words "makes," the lagoon.

So far then all can be explained on the supposition that the topography was the same in the time of Augustus as to-day. Even the distances given are capable of explanation. The sixty stades from Rhoeteum to Sigeum are not reckoned between the hills which bound the level shore, the "promontories" so called—though not by Homer: but agree well with the distance between the towns of Sigeum and Rhoeteum, if we place the latter at the site now known as Paleokastro, rather more than a

mile to the west of the village of Eren Köi. The twelve stades which separate the "modern" Ilium from the harbour of the Achaians will not be far out, if we take them to be reckoned from a certain distance up the In Tepe Asmak, to which local tradition must have asserted the harbour to extend. The actual distance from the nearest point to the shore is nearly 25 stades, and is given by Skylax as 30. If Strabo really means that Ilium was only 12 stades from the coast, then he or his copyists must have made a blunder.

But difficulties arise when he talks of the junction of Simois and Scamander "a little in front of the modern Ilium." He is bound to start from the assumption that the two actually joined in Homer's day, on the strength of *Il.* v. 774: and in all probability he is giving a condensed and confusing statement of the theory by which Demetrius must have reconciled this datum with the facts of his own time. This is in fact the Eastern Theory of Schliemann and Dörpfeld—that the Simois and Scamander did in fact join near the village of Kum Köi, but that the sediment they bring down has now converted their junction into "a blind mouth" (the In Tepe Asmak), "and lagoons and marshes." He cannot be seriously blamed for having thus jumbled together theory and fact; it was almost inevitable for that one who did not himself know the country should go astray. A modernised paraphrase of the passage from 31 will perhaps show that not much is required in order to make his meaning plain.

"After Paleokastro, the site of Rhoeteum, the next town along the coast is Sigeum, south of Yeni Shehr.

Between the two lies the site of the Naval Station, with the Harbour of the Achaians in the creek of the In Tepe Asmak, and the Achaian camp beside it. Then comes the lagoon, and finally the mouths of the Scamander, one in the lagoon, the other by Kum Kaleh. There is a junction of the Simois and Scamander in the plain, but the great amount of alluvium brought down by the two streams has made the whole delta into lagoons and marshes, and turned the creek of the In Tepe Asmak, once the common outlet of the two, into a blind mouth. . . . The length of the whole stretch of shore from Paleokastro to the Tomb of Achilles near Kum Kaleh is about seven statute miles in a straight line. It all lies within the domain of Ilium, the shortest distance from the head of the ancient harbour in the In Tepe creek to the modern Ilium being about a mile and a half: it has been already explained that the Homeric Ilium lay some three miles further inland in the general direction of Ida." In this form there is not much to quarrel with; and something of the sort must, I think, have been before Strabo, though he probably did not understand it. With this explanation, the second passage, in 34, needs no further comment.

Pliny's words are, I fear, hopeless. They seem to imply that the Scamander mouth lay close to Sigeum: he is passing from south-west to north-east, and would not naturally mention the river before the town: he may have intended to indicate a close connexion between the two. But when he speaks of the Scamander as a "navigable river," one must confess to respectful surprise. It is highly improbable that the Scamander was ever navigable for

anything but the pinewood planks which are floated down it when it is full in spring, and pursue a precarious course, with much aid from the shore, among shallows and sand-banks. The Portus Achaeorum we may recognise in the In Tepe creek as before; but what account can be given of the two new names, Xanthus and Palaeoscamander? We are clearly under the influence of some theorist ignored by Strabo, possibly Apollodorus. Probably the idea was that Xanthus in Homer meant the stream of the Scamander above its junction with the Simois; the Palaeoscamander may refer to the lower course of the Kalifatli Asmak as marked by Spratt, running north-west from Kum Kõi to the lagoon.

The general conclusion seems to be that the statements both of Strabo and of Pliny are too confused to afford any argument as to the actual course of the Scamander in their time; but that, so far as it is possible to distinguish fact from theory, they appear to point to a state of things in the first century A.D. not perceptibly different from that which now exists.

A further argument deserves some consideration. The chart shows, as will be seen on reference, shoal water, the Mendere Bank, lying off the mouth of the In Tepe Asmak and the lagoon, and extending a considerable distance into the sea. This has been cited as proving that the In Tepe Asmak must once have carried the main stream of the Scamander; the bank, it is said, must be the remains of a large delta which once existed here, and is in course of being washed away since the main mouth of the river has been transferred westward to Kum Kaleh.

The force of this argument seems to be extremely small. In the first place the bank may be merely a prolongation beneath the water of the Rhoeteum ridge: there must in any case be such a prolongation, to serve as the foundation for a delta.

A more pertinent consideration is that this is the only place along the shore where sediment, wherever it comes from, can be deposited. There is a slight backwater along the eastern part of the bay, as at many spots under the small headlands along the Hellespont. It will be seen that the outer edge of the bank very closely corresponds with the continuation of the line within which, according to the chart, there is "little or no current." Wherever therefore the river mouth lay between Kum Kaleh and In Tepe, some of the sediment would be deposited here by the backwater, the rest would be carried away. It will be seen that the greatest width of the bank is not even off the In Tepe mouth, but further west. It might, I think, be argued that if this mouth had ever been the chief outlet of the Scamander, the tongue of the delta must have been further eastwards.

APPENDIX B

THE words of Strabo are (XIII. i. 26) μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἑκείνου τελευταίην Λυκίμαχος μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως ἐπιμελίῃον καὶ μετὸν κατεσκεύασε καὶ τεῖχος περιβάλετο ὄσον τετταράκοντα σταδίων, συνώικιέ τε εἰς αὐτὴν τὰς κύκλῳ πόλιν ἀρχαίας ἤδη κακακωμένης, † ὅτε καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἤδη ἐπιμελίῃον, † συνωικισμένης μὲν ἤδη ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου καὶ προσηγορευμένης Ἀντιγονείας, μεταβαλούσης δὲ τοῦνομα· ἔδοξε γὰρ εὐσεβὲς εἶναι τοὺς Ἀλέξανδρον διαδεσπαμένους ἑκείνου πρότερον κτίζαν ἐπωνύμους πόλιν, εἰς ἑαυτῶν· καὶ οὐ καὶ συνέμισσε καὶ αὐτοῖσιν ἔσχε, μὴν δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποικίαν ἔδοξαται καὶ ἔστι τῶν ἐλλογίμων πόλεων. (27) καὶ τὸ Ἴλιον δ' ὅ μὴν ἔστι κωμόπολις τις ἴση, ὅτε πρῶτον Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπέβησαν καὶ ἐπέβαλον Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιπέδος τοῦ Ταύρου, κτλ. (There follows the interesting quotation from Demetrius about the condition of Ilium when he visited it in his youth.)

The intolerable awkwardness of the parenthesis ὅτε καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἤδη ἐπιμελίῃον is sufficient to condemn it. There can, I think, be little doubt that the πόλις mentioned in the first line is in fact Alexandria; Strabo may possibly have copied the whole from a passage in Demetrius in which the context made this clear. It was noticed that, though the general sense of the passage implied this, the name of the town was omitted. The word πόλεως therefore received a marginal note, ὅτι Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπιμελίῃον,

“N.B.: it was Alexandria which he thus fostered.” This gloss was subsequently brought into the text in a corrupted form. If these words are expunged and the city understood to be Alexandria, the whole passage is perfectly logical and consistent, and the more violent transposition assumed by Grote is needless.¹ As he says, “the series of Strabo’s allegations runs thus:—1. Ilium is nothing better than a κώμη at the landing of Alexander; 2. Alexander promises great additions, but never returns from Persia to accomplish them; 3. Lysimachos is absorbed in Alexandria Troas, into which he aggregates several of the adjoining old towns, and which flourishes under his hands; 4. hence Ilium remained a κώμη when the Romans entered Asia, as it had been when Alexander entered.”

¹ I do not think there is any difficulty in the grammatical reference of *ευνουκισμένης* to the first πόλιος, in spite of the intervening *εἰς αὐτήν*, all from *καὶ νέων* to *κακακωμένης* being parenthetical.

APPENDIX C

AUTHORITIES FOR THE STORY OF THE LOCRIAN MAIDENS

(1) LYCOPHRON 1141-1173.

<p>πάνθος δὲ πολλαῖς παρθένων τιτωμέναις τεύξω γυναίκην αὖθις, αἳ στρατηλάτην ἀεεμύλακτρον, Κύπριδος ληιστὴν θεᾶς, δαρὸν στένουσαι, κληρὸν εἰς ἀκάρσιον στελοῦσι παῖδας ἑστερωμέναις γάμων.</p>	1145
<p>Λάρυμνα καὶ Σπερχαῖε καὶ Βοάγριε καὶ Κῶνε καὶ Σκάρφαια καὶ Φαλωριάς καὶ Ναρύκσιον ἄστυ, καὶ Θρονίτιδες Λοκρῶν ἀγυαὶ καὶ Πυρωναῖαι κῆραι καὶ πᾶς Ὀδοιδόκεος Ἰλέως δῆμος·</p>	1150
<p>ὕμεῖς ἑμῶν ἕκατι δυσσεβῶν γάμων ποικᾶς Γυγαῖαι τίετ' Ἀγρίσκει θεᾷ, τὸν χιλιῶρον τὰς ἀνυμφεύτους χρόνον πάλου βραβείαις γηροβοσκοῦσαι κόρας, αἷς ἀκτέριστος ἐν κήνῃ κῆναις τάφος</p>	1155
<p>ψάμμωι κλύδωνος λυπρὸς ἀκλυσοῖσεται, ἐπὶν ἀκάρποις γυῖα συμφλέσας φυτοῖς Ἥφαιστος εἰς θάλασσαν ἐκβράσσει σποδὸν τῆς ἐκ λόφων Τράρωνος ἐφεττωμένης. ἄλλαι δὲ νύκτωρ, ταῖς θανουμέναις Ἰσαι, Σιῶνος εἰς οὐγατρὸς ἴκονται γύας, λαοραῖα κακὴ κέλευθα παπταλώμεναι, ἕως ἂν εἰσέρψωσιν Ἀμφείρας δῆμους, λιταῖς Σοῖναιαν ἴκτιδες γουνοῦμεναι·</p>	1160

θεᾶς δ' ὄφελτρεύουσι κοσμοῦσαι πέδον, 1165
 θρόσῳ τε φοιβᾶουσιν, ἀστεργῆ χόλον
 ἀστῶν φυγοῦσαι· πᾶς γὰρ Ἴλιεὺς ἀνὴρ
 κόρας δοκεύσαι, πέτρον ἐν χεροῖν ἔχων
 ἢ φάσγανον κελαιπὸν ἢ ταυροκτόνον
 στερρὰν κύβηλιν ἢ Φαλακράϊον κλάδον, 1170
 μαμῶν κορέσσαι χεῖρα διψῶσαν φόνου,
 θάμμος δ' ἀνατᾶι τὸν κτανόντ' ἐπαιπέσαι
 τεμῶι χαράσας τούπιλώβητον γένος.

Scholia of Tzetzes on the preceding passage.

1141-5, Αἴαντος τοῦ Λοκροῦ περὶ τὰς Γυραίας ναυαγί-
 αantos καὶ ταφάντος ἐν Τρέμωνι χώραι τῆς Δήλου, οἱ Λοκροὶ
 μόλις σωθέντες ἦλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν. φορὰ δὲ καὶ λοιμὸς
 μετὰ τρίτον ἔτος ἔσχε τὴν Λοκρίδα διὰ τὴν εἰς Κασσάνδραν
 ἀέμιπτον πρᾶξιν τοῦ Αἴαντος. ἔχρησε δ' ὁ θεὸς Ἰλάσκεσθαι τὴν
 ἐν Ἴλίῳ Ἀθηναῖν ἐπ' ἔτη χίλια δύο παρθένους πέμποντας
 κλήρωι καὶ λαχίῃσι. πεμπομένας δὲ αὐτὰς προὔπαντῶντες οἱ
 Τρώες εἰ κατέσχον ἀνήρου, καὶ καίοντες ἀκάρποις καὶ ἀγρίοις
 κύλοις τὰ ὄσῃ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Τράρωνος ὄρους τῆς Τροίας τὴν
 σποδὸν εἰς θάλασσαν ἔριπτον, καὶ πάλιν οἱ Λοκροὶ ἐτέρας
 ἔσταλλον. εἰ δὲ τινες ἐκφύγοιεν, ἀνελοῦσαι λάθρα εἰς τὸ τῆς
 Ἀθηναῖς ἱερὸν ἔσπειρον αὐτὸ καὶ ἔραινον· τῆι δὲ θεῶι οὐ
 προσέρχοντο οὔτε τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπέρχοντο εἰ μὴ νύκτωρ. ἦσαν
 δὲ κακαρμέναι, μονοχίτωνες καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι. πρῶται δὲ τῶν
 Λοκρίδων παρθένων Περίβοια καὶ Κλεοπάτρα ἀφίκοντο. καὶ
 πρῶτον μὲν τὰς παρθένους, εἶτα βρέφη ἐπαύσια μετὰ τῶν
 τροφῶν αὐτῶν ἐπεμπον οἱ Λοκροὶ. χιλίων δ' ἔτων παρελ-
 θόντων μετὰ τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλεμον ἐπαύσαντο τῆς τοιαύτης
 εὐσίας, ὥς φησι Τίμαιος ὁ Σικελός. μέμνηται δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας
 καὶ ὁ Κυρηνναῖος Καλλίμαχος.

1155 Τίμαιος ἱστορεῖ ὅτι αἱ παραγενόμεναι παρθένοι ἐδοῦ-
 λειον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς δύο οὔσαι· εἰ δὲ τις ἀποθανοίη,
 ἐτέραμ παραγενέσθαι ἀντ' αὐτῆς, ἐκείνην δὲ οὐ εἰσπέτεσαι παρὰ

τῶν Τρώων, ἀλλὰ καίεσθαι ἀγρίοις πύλοισι καὶ τὰ ὄστᾶ αὐτῆς
ρίπτεσθαι εἰς θάλασσαν.

1159 τῆς ἐκ Λόφρων] συνέβη μίαι στελλομένη ἐκ Λοκρίδος
διαφωρῆσαι ἐπὶ τινος Λόφου τῆς Τροίας καλουμένου Τράρωνος·
εἶτα τοὺς Λοκροὺς τὴν μὲν θάψαι, σιωπῆσαι δέ, καὶ μικτέτι
πέμπειν τὰς παῖδας, φάσκοντας πεπληρώσασθαι τὸν τῶν ἐτῶν
χρόνον. ἀκαρπίας δὲ μετὰ τὴν παύσιν τῆς θυσίας κατασχούσας
αὐτοὺς, πάλιν πέμπειν οὐκέτι δύο, ἀλλὰ μίαν, ἀρκοῦσαν εἶναι
δοκοῦντας τὴν τιμωρίαν. ὁ δὲ χρησιμὸς οὐκ εἶχαν ὠρικυμῆνον
χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀδικίας τῆς γεινομένης εἰς τὴν Κασάνδραν
παρὰ τοῦ Αἴαντος τοῦ Λοκροῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίας ἐδήλου
στέλλειν δύο κόρας. Τράρωνος] Τράρων ἀκρωτήριον Τροίας
ἔσεν μίᾳ τῶν Λοκρίδων παρθένων κατακρυμμίσθη καὶ παρ'
αὐτῶν ἐτάφη εὐρεθείσα.

1160 ἄλλα δέ] ἔσαι γὰρ ἀπέθνησκον, τσαυταὶ ἀπὸ αὐτῶν
ἐστῆλλοντο ἐν Τρωιάδι παρὰ τῶν Λοκρῶν. νύκτωρ δὲ εἶπεν,
ὅτι οὐ τῆι ἡμέρᾳ εἰσέρχοντο εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἐν νυκτί, ἵνα
μὴ φωραθεῖσαι παρὰ τῶν Τρώων ἀναιρεθῶσιν, ἐπειδὴ αἱ εἰς
Τρώας προσεδέγοντο φονεῦσαι αὐτὰς κακῶς.

1611 Σιωῶνος· Σιωῶν βασιλεὺς Θράικων, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ Θράικη
Σιωωνία, οὗ θυγάτηρ Ῥοιτεία, ἀφ' ἧς τόπος ἐν Τροίᾳ Ῥοίταιον
προσαγορευόμενος.

1162 κακὴ κέλευθα] κατακρύφους ὁδοὺς περιβλέπουσαι.
ἐθαλίω γάρ, ὡς ἔφη, μὴ ἀναιρεθῶσι ὑπὸ Τρώων.

1167 ἐπιτέτραπτο δὲ τοῖς Τρωσὶ καὶ ἡνίκά ἤϊσθηον παρα-
γινόμενας αὐτὰς ἐκ Λοκρίδος, λίθους ἔχοντες καὶ πῆνι ἐπαθήσαν
αὐταῖς. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἔσπευδον λάθρα καὶ νύκτωρ εἰσέρχεσθαι.
εἰσθεῖσαι δὲ ἀκαθέζοντο ἱκέτιδες ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίας.

1168 πέτρον ἔχων ἢ τότε ἢ τότε· ἐν τοιοῦτοις γὰρ οἱ
Τρώες ὠπλιζόμενοι τὰς Λοκρίδας ἐπεδέγοντο, ὅπως αὐτὰς ἀν-
έλωσι. νόμος γὰρ ἦν τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἐπαιῶν τοὺς τῶν Λοκρίδων
φονέας.

(2) POLYBIUS xii. 5.

πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι πάντα τὰ διὰ προγόνων ἔπιδρα παρ' αὐτοῖς
ἀπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔστιν, οἷον εὐθείας

εὐγενεῖς παρὰ σφίσι νομίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν οἰκῶν
 λεγομένους· ταύτας δ' εἶναι τὰς ἑκατὸν οἰκίας τὰς προκριθείσας
 ὑπὸ τῶν Λοκρῶν πρὶν ἢ τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐκελεῖν, ἐκ ὧν ἔμελλον
 οἱ Λοκροὶ κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν κληροῦν τὰς ἀποσταλικομένας
 παρθένους εἰς Ἴλιον. τούτων δὲ τινὰς τῶν γυναικῶν συμ-
 κῆραι μετὰ τῆς ἀποικίας, ὧν τοὺς ἀπογόνους ἔτι νῦν εὐγενεῖς
 νομίζεσθαι καὶ καλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν οἰκῶν.

(3) PLUTARCH, *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*, xii.

καὶ μὴν οὐ πολλὸς χρόνος ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Λοκροὶ πέμποντες εἰς
 Τροίαν πέπαινται τὰς παρθένους

αἱ καὶ ἀναμπεύγονοι γύμνοισι ποσὶν ἤνυτε δοῦλαι
 ἠοῖαι αἰρέσκον Ἀθηναίησι περὶ βῶμον,
 νέσφι κρηδέμνοιο, καὶ εἰ βαρὺ γῆρας ἰκάνοι,

διὰ τὴν Αἴαντος ἀκολασίαν.

(The lines are presumably from Callimachus; see the
 end of the Schol. on 1141-5.)

(4) STRABO XIII. i. 40.

λέγουσι δ' οἱ νῦν Ἰλιεῖς καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς οὐδὲ τελείως ἠφανίσθαι
 συνέβαιεν τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν,
 οὐδὲ ἐκηλαίφην οὐδέποτε. αἱ γοῦν Λοκρίδες παρθέναι, μικρὸν
 ἕστερον ἀρπάξασθαι, ἐπέμποντο κατ' ἔτος. καὶ ταῦτα δ' οὐχ
 Ὀμηρικά. οὔτε γὰρ τῆς Κασάνδρας φεορὰν οἶδαν Ὀμηρος·
 ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν παρθένος ἦν ὑπ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον λέγει

πέφνε γὰρ Ὀερουονῆα, Καβησέσθαι ἔνδον ἔοντα,
 δεῖ βὰ νέον πολέμοιο μετὰ κλέος εἰληλούεσθαι.
 ἦπτε γὰρ Πριάμοιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην,
 Κασσάνδρην ἀνάεδνον.

βίαι δὲ οὐδὲ μέμνηται, οὐδ' ὅτι ἡ φεορὰ τοῦ Αἴαντος ἐν τῇ
 ναυαγίᾳ διὰ μῆριν Ἀθηναῖς συνέβη, ἢ κατὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν,
 ἀλλ' ἀπεχθαστόμανον μὲν τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν εἶρηκεν·
 ἀπάντων γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀσεβησάντων ἅπασιν ἑμίσηεν· ἀπολέ-
 σθαι δὲ ὑπὸ Περσῶν μεγαλορρημονήσαντα. τὰς δὲ Λοκρίδας
 πεμφθῆναι Περσῶν ἤδη κρατούντων συνέβη.

(5) AELIAN, *Var. Hist. Frag.* 47 (Hercher).

ὁ Ἀπόλλων φησὶ πρὸς Λοκροὺς μὴ ἂν αὐτοῖς τὸ θαπὸν
λωφῆσαι, εἰ μὴ πέμπωσιν ἀπὸ πάντων ἔτος δύο παρθένους ἐς τὴν
Ἴλιον τῆσι Ἀθηναῖσι, Κασάνδρᾳ ποιήσῃ, “ὥς ἂν ἰλασώσῃτε τὴν
οὐρανόν.”

καὶ αἱ γὰρ πεμψέσθαι καταγέραςαν ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ τῶν δια-
δόχων μὴ ἀφικνουμένων.

αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἔπιπτον ἔμπρησται καὶ τέρατα· οἱ δὲ τῶν
τετολιμνήστων σφίσι λήθησι καταχέαντες ἦκον ἐς Δελφούς.

οὐκοῦν ἐδέχετο αὐτοὺς τὸ μαντεῖον, τοῦ θεοῦ μνησκόντος
αὐτοῖς. καὶ λιπαρούνητων μασεῖν τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ κότους, ὅφρα
ποτε χρῆσαι.

καὶ τὸ ἔλλαφθαι κατὰ τὰς παρθένους προφέρα αὐτοῖς.

οἱ δὲ, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχον ἀνήκασθαι τὸ πρόσταγμα, ἐπὶ Ἀπι-
γόνῳ τίθενται τὴν κρίσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τίνα χρὴ Λοκρικὴν πόλιν
πέμπωσιν θαυμάσιον.

ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος, ἐφραῖν οἱ δικάσαι, πρόσταξε κλήρωσι
διακριθῆναι.

(6) AENEAS TACTICUS, 31. 24 (Ed. R. Schoene).

μαρτύριον δὲ ὅτι τὰ εἰπευόμενα μετὰ ἐπιβουλῆς χαλαρῶς
φυλάσσει. οἱ γοῦν περὶ Ἴλιον ἀνερωποὶ καὶ ἐκ τοσοῦτου χρόνου
καὶ οὕτω διατεταμένοι οὕτω δύνανται φυλάσσει μὴ εἰσελεῖν
αὐτοῖς τὰς Λοκρίδας· καίτοι τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ἡ σπουδὴ καὶ
ἡ φυλακὴ. ἀλλ’ ὀλίγοι (“f. οἱ Λοκροί,” Sauppe), προσέχοντες
τῶσι λαοῖσιν, λαοθέουσιν ἀν’ ἑτα πολλὰ εἰσάγοντες [τὰ] σώματα.

The inscription referred to on p. 131, on the authority
of Brückner, *Troja und Ilios*, p. 562, will, I understand,
shortly be published by Prof. Wilhelm. I regret that
I have not been able to obtain a copy for this volume.
I am told, however, that it contains no new material of
importance.

APPENDIX D

PASSAGES OF THE ILIAD REFERRING TO THE GREAT FORAY

- (1) **ὠιχόμεε' ἐς Θήβην, ἱερὴν πόλιν Ἥπειωκος,**
τὴν δὲ διαπράομεν τε καὶ ἤγομεν ἐνωάδε πάντα·
καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ δάσσατο μετὰ σφίσι υἱὸς Ἀχαιῶν,
ἔκ δ' ἔλον Ἀτράϊδῃ Χρυσίδα καλλιπάρηιον.
i. 366–369.
- (2) **κεῖτο γὰρ ἐν κήσσι ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,**
κούρης χωόμενος Βρισηΐδος ἠυκόμοιο,
τὴν ἐκ Λυρνησσοῦ ἐπέλετο πολλὰ μογίχας, (90
Λυρνησσοῦν διαπορεύχας καὶ τείχεα Θήβης,
καθ' δὲ Μύνητ' ἔβαλεν καὶ Ἐπίστροφον ἐγχεσιμώρους,
υἱάας Εὐηνοῖο Σεληπιάδαο ἀνακτος.
ii. 688–693.
- (3) **ἦτοι γὰρ πατέρ' ἀμὼν ἀπέκτανε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,**
ἐκ δὲ πόλιν πέρσεν Κιλίκων εὖ ναιετάουσαν, 415
Θήβην ὑψίπυλον· κατὰ δ' ἔκταναν Ἥπειωνα,
οὐδέ μιν ἐκενάρηκε, σεβάσσατο γὰρ τό γε οὐμῶι,
ἀλλ' ἄρα μιν κατέκνε σὺν ἔντεσι θαιδαλόισιν
ἠδ' ἐπὶ σμῦ' ἔχεαν· περὶ δὲ πτελέας ἐφύτευσαν
νύμφαι δρεσπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο. 426
οἳ δέ μοι ἔπτα κασίγνητοι ἔσαν ἐν μεγάροισιν,
οἱ μὲν πάντες ἰῶι κίον ἤματι Ἄϊδος εἴσω·
πάντας γὰρ κατέπεφνε ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς
βουσίην ἐπ' εἰλιπόδεσσι καὶ ἀργακνήθις ὀίεσσι·
μητέρα δ', ἠ βασιλευεν ὑπὸ Πλάκῳι ὕληέσση, 425

τὴν ἐπεὶ ἄρ' ἀέθρ' ἦγαρ' ἄμ' ἄλλοιαι κτεάτεσσιν,
 θῦ δ' γε τὴν ἀπέλυσε λαβῶν ἀπεραΐσι' ἄποινα,
 πατρὸς δ' ἐν μαγάρῳιαι βάλ' Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέερα.

vi. 414—428.

- (4) δώσω δ' ἐπὶ γυναικῶν ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας,
 Λεσβίδας, ὅς ὅτε Λέσβον εὐκτιμένην ἔλειν αὐτὸς
 ἐπελώμων, αἶ κάλλει ἐνίκων φύλα γυναικῶν.

ix. 128—130.

- (5) τὸν δ' εὗρον φρένα τερπόμενον φόρμιγγι λιγαίην
 καλαίη δαιδαλέην, ἐπὶ δ' ἀργύρεον ζυγὸν ἦεν,
 τὴν ἄρετ' ἐκ ἐνάρων πόλιν Ἡετίωνος ὀλέσσαι.

ix. 186—188.

- (6) Πάτροκλος δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἔλεετο· παρ' δ' ἄρα καὶ τῶν
 Ἴφικ' εὐζωνος, τῆν οἱ πόρε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς
 Κυβρον ἔλῶν αἰπέισαν, Ἐνυθὸς πτολίεθρον.

ix. 666—8.

- (7) αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ β' Ἴδῶν τε καὶ Ἄντιφον ἐκασαρίων,
 υἱε δ' ὄνο Πριάμοιο, νόθος καὶ γνήσιον, ἄμφο
 εἶν ἐπὶ δίφρῳ ἐόντας· ὁ μὲν νόθος ἠπιόχευαν,
 Ἄντιφος αὖ παρέβασκε περικλυτός· ὦ ποτ' Ἀχιλλεύς
 Ἴδης ἐν κνήμοισι δίδη μέγχοισι λύγχοισι, 105
 πομαίνοντ' ἐπ' ὄρεσι λαβῶν, καὶ ἔλυσε ἀποίκων.

καὶ γάρ σφε πάρος παρὰ νηυσὶ θεοῖσιν
 εἶδαν, ὅτ' ἐκ Ἴδης ἀγαγεῖν πόδας ὦκ' Ἀχιλλεύς.

xi. 101—112.

- (8) τοῖσι δὲ τεύχε κικαῖω ἐυπλόκαμος Ἐκαμήδην,
 τὴν ἄρετ' ἐκ Τανέδοιο γέρον ὅτε πέρσειν Ἀχιλλεύς.

xi. 624—6.

- (9) ἐν δὲ παρνηρίσιν ἀμύμονα Πήδασον Ἰα,
 τὸν β' αὖ ποτ' Ἡετίωνος ἔλῶν πόλιν ἦγαρ' Ἀχιλλεύς,
 ὅς καὶ θνητὸς ἔων ἔπει' ἵπποις ἀθανάτοισι.

xvi. 152—4.

- (10) ἄνδρα μὲν οἷ ἐδοσάμ με πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
 εἶδον πρὸ πτόλιος δεδαϊγμένον ὀφεί χαλκῶι,
 τρεῖς τε κασιγνήτους, τοὺς μοι μία γείνατο μήτηρ,
 κηδείους, οἳ πάντες ὀλέθριον ἦμαρ ἐπέσπον.
 οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδέ μ' ἔασκες, ὅτ' ἄνδρ' ἐμὸν ὠκύς Ἀχιλλεύς 29:
 ἔκτανεν, πέρσεν δὲ πόλιν οἴοιο Μύνητος,
 κλαίειν, ἀλλά μ' ἔφασκες Ἀχιλλῆος οἴοιο
 κουριδίην ἄλογον οἴσαι ἄπειν τ' ἐνὶ νηυσὶν
 ἐς Φοῖνιν, δαΐσαι δὲ γάμον μετὰ Μυρμιδόνεσσι.
 xix. 291–300.
- (11) οὐ μὲν γὰρ νῆν πρώτα ποδώκεος ἄντ' Ἀχιλλῆος
 στήσωμαι, ἀλλ' ἦδη με καὶ ἄλλοτε δουρὶ φόβησαι 90
 ἐκ Ἴδης, ὅτε βουσίην ἐπήλυθαι ἡμετέρησι,
 πέρσεν δὲ Λυρνησσὸν καὶ Πήδασον· αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ Ζεὺς
 εἰρύσασθ', ὅς μοι ἐπώρσεν μένος λαιψηρὰ τε γούνα.
 ἦ κ' ἐδάμην ὑπὸ χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος καὶ Ἀθήνης,
 ἦ οἱ πρόσθεν ἰοῦσα τίσασθαι φάος ἦδ' ἐκέλευεν 95
 ἔγχεϊ χαλκείῳ Ἀλέγασθαι καὶ Τρώας ἐναΐραιν·
 xx. 89–96.
- (12) ἦδη μὲν σέ γέ φημι καὶ ἄλλοτε δουρὶ φοβῆσαι.
 ἦ οὐ μέμνησθαι ὅτε πέρ σε βοῶν ἀπο μοῦνον ἐόντα
 σευα κατ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων ταχέεσσι πόδεσσι
 καρπαλίμως; τότε δ' οὐ τί μετατροπαλίζω φεύγων· 190
 ἔθεον δ' ἐς Λυρνησσὸν ὑπέκφυγες· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τὴν
 πέρσεν μεσορμηθεὶς σὺν Ἀθήνῃ καὶ Διὶ πατρὶ,
 ληϊάδας δὲ γυναικῆς ἐλεύθερον ἦμαρ ἀπούρας
 ἦγον· ἀτὰρ σέ Ζεὺς ἐρρύσατο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι.
 xx. 187–194.
- (13) αὐτὰρ Πηλεΐδης οἴσκειν σόλον αὐτοχόωνον,
 θη πρὶν μὲν ῥίπτασκε μάγῃ σῶσιος Ἡετίωνος·
 ἀλλ' ἦτοι τὸν ἐπεφνε ποδάρκης ὄϊος Ἀχιλλεύς,
 τὸν δ' ἄγετ' ἐν νήεσσι σὺν ἄλλοισι κτεάτεσσι.
 xxiii. 826–9.

APPENDIX E

STRABO ON THE PASSAGE BETWEEN ABYDOS AND SESTOS

Ἄβυδος δὲ Μιλησίων ἐστὶ κτίσμα ἐπιτρέψαντος Γύγου τοῦ Λυδῶν βασιλέως· ἦν γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ χωρία καὶ ἡ Τρωϊὰς ἅπασα, ὀνομάζεται δὲ καὶ ἀκρωτήριόν τι πρὸς Δαρδάνῳι Γύγας· ἐπίκειται δὲ τῷ στόματι τῆς Προποντίδος καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, διέχει δὲ τὸ Ἰσον Λαμφάκου καὶ Ἰλίου, σταδίου περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν. ἔνταυθα δ' ἔστι τὸ ἐπιταστάδιον ὅπερ ἔευσεν Ἐέρσης, τὸ διορίζον τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν. καλεῖται δ' ἡ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐρώπης Χερρόνησος διὰ τὸ σχῆμα, ἢ ποιοῦσα τὰ στενὰ τὰ κατὰ τὸ ζεύγμα· ἀπείκειται δὲ τὸ ζεύγμα τῇ Ἀβύδῳ. Σηστὸς δὲ ἀρίστη τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳι πόλεων· διὰ δὲ τὴν γειτοσύνην ὑπὸ τῷ αὐτῷ ἡγεμόνι καὶ αὕτη ἐτέτακτο, οὕτως ταῖς ἡπείροις διοριζόντων τῶν τότε τὰς ἡγεμονίας. ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἄβυδος καὶ ἡ Σηστὸς διέχουσι ἀλλήλων τριάκοντά που σταδίου ἐκ λιμένος εἰς λιμένα, τὸ δὲ ζεύγμα ἔστι μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων παραλλάξαντι ἐκ Ἀβύδου μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Προποντίδα, ἐκ δὲ Σηστοῦ εἰς τὸ ἑκαστήριον· ὀνομάζεται δὲ πρὸς τῇ Σηστῷι τόπος Ἀποβάρα καθ' ὃν ἐξεύγνυτο ἡ σχεδία. ἔστι δὲ ἡ Σηστὸς ἐνδοτέρω κατὰ τὴν Προποντίδα ὑπερδέσποσ τοῦ βόθ τοῦ ἐκ αὐτῆς· διὸ καὶ εὐπετέστερον ἐκ τῆς Σηστοῦ διαίρουσα παραλαβάνουσι μικρὸν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ἥροος πύργον, κάκειθεν ἀφίσπτες τὰ πλοῖα συμπράττοντος τοῦ βόθ πρὸς τὴν περαιώσαν· τοῖς δ' ἐκ Ἀβύδου περαιουμένοις παραλακτέον ἐστὶν εἰς τὰναντία ὀκτώ που σταδίου ἐπὶ πύργον τινὰ κατ' ἀντικρὺ τῆς Σηστοῦ, ἔπατα διαίρειν πλάγιον καὶ μὴ τελέως ἐναντίον ἔχουσι τὸν βόθον. ὠικουσι δὲ τὴν Ἄβυδον μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ Θραῖκες, εἶτα Μιλή-

αιοι. τῶν δὲ πόλεων ἐμπρησθεσίων ὑπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξέρου πατρὸς τῶν κατὰ τὴν Προποντίδα, ἐκοινωνήσε καὶ ἡ Ἄβυδος τῆς αὐτῆς συμφορᾶς· ἐνέπρησε δὲ πυσθόμενος μετὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐπάνοδοσιν τοὺς νομάδας παρασκευάζεσθαι διαβαίνειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν κατὰ τιμωρίαν ὧν ἔπαθον, δεδιώς μὴ αἱ πόλεις πορευθεὶς παράσχοιεν τῆσι στρατιῶσι. συνέβη δὲ πρὸς ταῖς ἄλλαις μεταβολαῖς καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τοῦτο αἴτιον τῆς συγχύσεως τῶν τόπων. περὶ δὲ Σηστοῦ καὶ τῆς ὄλης Χερρονήσου προ-ἄπομασιν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς Θράκης τόποις. φησὶ δὲ τὴν Σηστὸν Θεόπομποσιν βραχεῖσιν μὲν, εὐερκεῖ δέ, καὶ σκέλαι διπλήρωσι συνάπτειν πρὸς τὸς λιμένασιν, καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' οὖν καὶ διὰ τὸν ῥοῦσιν κυρίαν εἶναι τῶν παρόδων.

XIII. i. 22.

NOTE

It is of course possible to interpret Strabo as meaning by the words ἐκ τῆς Σηστοῦ παραλαβόμενοι μικρὸν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἡρώσιν πύργον that the boat coasted along the west side of Sestos Bay, and that the Tower of Hero was where the chart marks "Sestos Point"—unfortunately illegible in the reduced reproduction, but close to the buoy immediately S. of Ak Bashi Liman. The start from Abydos would then still in a sense be εἰς τὰναντία, as leading up channel, whereas that from Sestos is down channel. But the whole drift of the passage appears to me to be in favour of the explanation adopted in the text; the point being that it is necessary to get some distance E. of Sestos before entering the current, which by Nagara Point sets strongly towards the European shore. Unless the boat could round the spit quite close, it would be carried westwards and would have great difficulty in gaining Abydos Harbour. To avoid this danger it was necessary to make for the shore under Abydos Point well to the E. of Nagara Spit.

2 D

In westerly winds and calms the more direct passage would doubtless be adopted.

How natural is the error of Herodotus in attributing to the channel between Sestos and Abydos the width which really belongs only to the passage between Dardanelles and Kilid Bahr may be inferred from its reappearance, with great show of exactitude, in an age which should be better informed. "Der Dampfer nähert sich der schmalsten Stelle (1350 m.) der Meeresstrasse. R. lag an einer kleinen Bucht *Sestos*, 1. beim Fort Nagara *Abydos*. Hier spielt das Märchen von Hero und Leander; hier schwamm Lord Byron hinüber; hier gingen Xerxes (480), Alexander (334) sowie die Türken (1356) über die Meerenge. Diese biegt beinahe rechtwinklig nach S. um und erweitert sich . . . um sich bald wieder auf 1950 m. zu verengen. An dieser Stelle . . . die von Mohammed II. 1470 erbauten Dardanellen-Schlösser." Bäderer, *Konstantinopel und Kleinasien*, 1905, p. 187. Here the two distances given are inverted—the shorter, 1350 m., belongs to the width at Dardanelles; the longer, 1950 m., to Sestos and Abydos.

In order to justify the statement of Herodotus by supposed changes in the shore-line, it would be necessary to assume that the channel at Nagara has been widened by erosion from seven to twelve stades, *i.e.* to the extent of about 1000 yards, in 2400 years, or 40 yards per century. How long Nagara Castle has stood on the shore I do not know; but the castle at Dardanelles, where erosion should be more active, was built more than 400 years ago at the edge of the water, as it still stands; there is absolutely no trace of a recession of 160 yards. The rate of erosion must in fact be very small; there is no reason for supposing, so far as I am aware, that it was greater 2000 years ago than in the last few centuries.

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THE END



SCALE

Cables 10
 (-Stades) 5 0 1 2 3 Nautical Miles

THE PLAIN OF TROY.

(From Admiralty Chart, 1808.) By permission.

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